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A NATIVE COMMUNITY COUNSELLING TEAM:
AN ANALYSIS OF THE ALBERTA NEWSTART EXPERIENCE

by



ELSIE LOUISE KLAPSTEIN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies for acceptance, a thesis entitled "A Native Community Counselling Team: An Analysis of the Alberta New Start Experience" submitted by Elsie Louise Klapstein in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

ABSTRACT

Regional disparity and poverty have long been problems in Canada, but often native Canadians are affected more severely than other groups. A number of programs have been set up to deal generally with those less economically fortunate and specifically with Indian and Metis populations. These have had varying degrees of success. Administrative difficulties, misplaced emphases, government pressures and personal inadequacies have been the downfall of many of the community development programs.

The Community Counselling Team in Alberta NewStart, Inc. was developed in the hope that past mistakes could be rectified by creating a cohesive group of men who could provide mutual support. The men chosen were either Indian or Metis, indigenous to Northeastern Alberta, and either unemployed or underemployed. Educational standing and previous experience were not considered in hiring the men.

The team underwent a comprehensive program in in-service training to improve their public speaking abilities, and to facilitate their field work. In addition, members wrote job descriptions and met local, regional and provincial resource people who would aid the team when working in a

community. When the training was complete, the team travelled together to familiarize all members with the situations of individual workers. The aims and philosophies of the community counsellors were similar to those of community development officers who work to increase the meaningful participation of people in their own lives. After becoming familiar with the geography of the area, the team members visited in individual homes with the intent of getting to know the people, learning their opinions and beginning an adult education process. Developing leadership was another major step. After group discussions, the counsellors, if requested, would aid people to take action to meet their goals. In doing so, the men became aware the politics of group organization. Their first major experience occurred when they helped to organize a pressure group who wanted the Alberta NewStart training program to remain in Lac La Biche.

Besides the community development function, counsellors performed specific recruiting and follow-up tasks for the Centre Supervisors in mobile adult education centres. They were also able to assume a mediating role between natives and NewStart personnel when there were misunderstandings.

The team has had an impact on the individual men, the NewStart Corporation, and several of the communities. Attitudes in NewStart have become less rigid and less discriminatory toward natives, and two communities have made tremendous strides in social and political awareness. Leadership by B. Baich, Director of Community Counselling and William Bull, Assistant Director have been of major importance. There have been political consequences of the team's existence: the Director has been told not to remain in Alberta. Team members have been offered good jobs at lucrative salaries and have taken an important place in the development of native organizations.

An analysis of the team organization looking at it from the perspective of someone within the team, within Alberta NewStart, and within Kikino, one of four communities the counsellors worked in, has been completed using ten dimensions which relate to social organization.

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Dr. G. Kupfer, my advisor, helped conceptualize the form of the thesis.

I owe much to the team: Robert Boucher, William Bull, Harrison Cardinal, Joe Cardinal, Marshall Howse, George Huppie, Maurice L'Hirondelle, and Cyril Muskego, who patiently explained situations to me and answered myriads of questions. Ben Baich provided information, support, encouragement and criticism. As always, he challenged me to try to do better.

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IDENTIFICATION OF ACTORS

Jack Shields, Executive Director

Gordon Stangier, Director of Programs

Ben Baich, Director of Community Counselling

William Bull, Assistant Director of Community
Counselling

Counsellors

Robert Boucher

Harrison Cardinal

Joe Cardinal

Marshall Howse

George Huppie

Maurice L'Hirondelle

Cyril Muskego



Elsie Klapstein

Cyril Muskego

Maurice L'Hirondelle

George Huppie

Joe Cardinal

Marshall Howse

William Bull

Ben Baich

Missing Robert Boucher

Harrison Cardinal

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

POVERTY IN CANADA

Poverty in Canada is real; that it touches millions of people is considered by many to be unnecessary and disgraceful in a country as wealthy as Canada. Definitions of poverty change as do our attitudes toward the poor. At one time, people could be non-participant in the larger economic structure and survive. They could live off the land without contributing to the development of Canada. This is no longer possible for welfare services have been created which provide for the minimal needs of people by "taking care" of them. It has been fashionable for economists to think in terms of a "poverty line" which magically separates those who are in need, destitution and want from those who are not. Other thinkers view poverty as more than mere want, suggesting that the quality of life of the poor can be contrasted with the standards and expectations generated in a modern society.

Characteristically, the poor are underemployed or unemployed. They lack knowledge of resources that would allow

them to increase their marketable skills, they consume large amounts of health and welfare expenditures, and they lack programs to improve their employability in forms adapted to their needs. Inarticulate, lacking education and organization, many are unable to adapt to modern industrial society. They have no organized power, have a poor self-image which prevents them from exerting pressure on community organizations or the political process as such.

An analysis of the economic picture may convince academicians that low wages, unemployment and a shift from manufacturing to services are major causes of poverty; but the poor need means to learn new skills and attitudes so they can adequately participate in a changing economy. Their task is to overcome economic, educational, vocational, social, cultural and sometimes physical deprivation in order to move the economic mainstream of Canada.

THE NATIVE CASE

While poverty is a Canadian problem which embraces as much as one-fourth of the population, some groups are more

vulnerable than others.¹ Indians and Metis are the most vulnerable of all ethnic groups in Canada. Poverty is not just a lack of money, it is also a lack of services. A telephone is considered by most Canadians a readily available utility; but in some places in Alberta two blocks from a telephone line, no amount of money can buy that service.² While close to 90% of white homes have sewage, indoor toilets and baths, a tiny minority of Indians and Metis - 11% - have such ordinary facilities.³ Special problems face the Indian and Metis people of Canada. There are declining opportunities for making a livelihood by the traditional means of hunting, fishing and trapping.⁴

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1. Special Planning Secretariat "Meeting Poverty: Profile of Poverty in Canada", Privy Council Office, Ottawa 1965, p.2.
 2. As told by Marilyn Assheton-Smith.
 3. N. Dhalla, These Canadians, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966.
 4. A tremendous problem exists - whole occupational groups are excluded from economic activity in Canada, for example, fishermen, hunters, and trappers. Indians were largely in these occupations, so now an entire ethnic group is in trouble. Small farmers could have the same problem very soon.

Reserves and colonies offer low economic potential as they are already crowded and the Indians and Metis people are the most rapidly increasing segment of the Canada population.⁵ In 1965, an Indian Affairs Branch study reported that 78.5% of Indian households had incomes less than \$3,000 per year.⁶ Many self-reinforcing characteristics of poverty render steps against it ineffectual. The whole white culture demands that the Indian conform to middle-class white values, while the structure for participation remains largely closed to him.⁷ Another force operating on the individual is that while the white society may reject him, the Indians and Metis in his home community are also exerting pressures on him so

5. Economic Council of Canada: Fifth Annual Review: The Challenge of Growth and Change, Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1968, p.121.

6. Ibid, p.121.

7. Erving Goffman describes this in his book Stigma. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc: 1963, p.5.) He says that people have a social identity by which they are known - usually based on anticipations of the other person's behavior. We are not all alike - some possess stigma - physical deformities or blemishes of character, but there is also the "tribal stigma of race, nation and religion." Because of this undesired differentness, we construct an ideology to explain his inferiority and account for the danger he represents. On this assumption, we exercise varieties of discrimination, through which we effectively, if often unthinkingly, reduce his life chances.

that he does not become "better" than they are. The odds against an individual succeeding become overwhelming.

"Sharing" or pooling of goods and services as a means of survival makes it virtually impossible for one family or one individual to improve his life standards. Community pressure will force him to share his material rewards. In addition, the man may be ridiculed for becoming a "white" man. "Drag-down system" is the term B. Baich uses for this phenomenon. The problem is to make the individual intelligently aware of what is happening to him. What is needed is a program which mobilizes the poor to help themselves and shows them that they, too, can control their destinies, and teaches them how to act effectively.

The white man's conquest of the Indian and the sharp contrast between white and native economies reduced the Indian to near pauperism and led to social and cultural disorganization. Segregated in reserves and confined by treaties, the Indian found himself loved, helped, 'worked with,' punished or rejected. Always he was aside, handled differently, and excluded from Canadian development.

Pressure to rid himself of his Indian ways intensified disorganization.⁸

Despite the pressures and the attractive possibility of better job opportunities, there is a permanency about Indian cultural identification. Jean Lagas   says the pressure toward Indians is cultural genocide. They have survived by passive resistance, but that very resistance may now be an obstacle to be overcome.

Indian lives are a study in passive resistance. Other forms of political activity, like band councils, are tokens to throw people off the track. Reserve society is instinctively geared to alienating white people whether by frightening them by drunkenness, begging and threats, intimidating them by silence, or retreating from them through feigned stupidity and fake psychosis. Indians have instinctively patterned their lives to prevent whites from really knowing what is going on among the Indians.⁹

Present reserve systems cannot provide for the basic economic needs of their people at a level comparable to other Canadian groups, partly because Indians have limited control over their capital assets and corporate management

8. Lest anyone doubt that there was "pressure against the Indian ways," he should be aware that Indian children are commonly strapped for speaking their native tongue on or near the schoolgrounds. It was also at one time illegal for Indians to hold a Sun Dance, a law sometimes circumvented by calling them Rain Dances.

9. Heather Robertson, Reservations Are For Indians, Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1970, p.8.

at the local level. Participation in the administration of their own affairs has been sporadic and usually only consultative, both at the regional and the national level.¹⁰ An interpretation from these four statements is that an ability to deal with present economic conditions is essential. If the individual cannot survive, or can survive only minimally, he should be aided in learning to control his destiny. Part of the problem is that the application of stereotypes to a minority group clouds rational thinking: The Indians are dirty, lazy, the worst Indians in Canada, they get drunk, kill one another ...

Canadians seem to doubt the ability of the Indian and Metis to control his present economic condition, for they see only the results of frustrations which explode into violence directed to the self or to members of the same community. A more reasoned approach for the majority groups would be to ask:

10. The Canadians Catholic Conference "A Brief to the Parliamentary Committee on Indian Affairs," May 1960, p. 12, as quoted in "Private Intervention," Human Organization, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1961-2, p.214.

- a) "To what extent shall members of sub-populational groups participate in the world, in a nation, in an industry, or in a small community?"¹¹
- b) How can Indians and Metis be fully participating members of the society?

The Economic Council of Canada in 1968 agreed upon "the need for a 'community development' approach to the problems of education, individual development, adaptation to the larger environment and community organization." It called the NewStart Program of the prairie provinces "a promising development" in this area.¹²

Alberta NewStart, Inc., a program planned to help understand unemployed people, believes that every individual can participate in activities that lead to a meaningful and successful life style in the Canada context. People, regardless of status, have the right to earn a living, and a right to self-respect.

11. Fred Vogt, "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Status Innovations" American Journal of Sociology, 62: 369-78, p.369.

12. Economic Council of Canada, *ibid.* p.123.

INDIVIDUAL ENVIRONMENT

Every individual is in a symbiotic relationship with the environment to which he is constantly adjusting. If individuals are to move from one environment to another, (across lines of class, colour, education, customs and culture), they are, in effect, transplanted to a new, and often hostile, environment. The self and dignity of the man, like the roots of a plant, must be protected: he must bring enough "soil" from his old culture to support him until he adjusts and forms new relationships in the new "soil". A fern which has lived in a shady spot is not transplanted into the glaring sun, or, if it is, it is protected until it has time to adjust.

Most people understand the needs of a flower, but not the needs of mankind. When the plant does not grow, they say it could not stand the transplanting; when the man does not adapt, they say he failed in the program.

Are they, in intervening and transplanting, aiming for "functionally integrated participation"? If they are, will they suggest that the Indian imitate the white man as has happened in the past? Will they wait passively in a state which could be called "benign neglect" until the older

members of the Indian tribes die? Will they continue to insist that mobility is the answer to the 'native problem'? Or will they face the hard work of changing white attitudes that exclude Indians and Metis attitudes that will not allow members of their community to escape the vicious poverty cycle? Will they allow Indians to have the power of self-determination? Will they be able to effect the input of social and economic resources effective in building skills within individual natives and native groups?

The answers to these questions will affect the course of the native people in Canada; and as a special and large segment of the poverty problem, solutions for Indians affect all Canadians.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of the study is to describe and attempt an analysis of the formation and use of a team approach to community development. To this writer's knowledge, the idea of team community development had not been used in Alberta or Canada prior to the summer of 1969 when Alberta NewStart, Inc., initiated an eight-man Community Counselling Team. The purpose is to document that initial attempt and interpret the results. To some degree, it is also an attempt to capture the charismatic leadership of a man known across Canada as a "people developer," to explore the development of counsellors, to show the impact of the team on NewStart and the communities and to deal with the change of leadership of the team.

METHODOLOGY

In 1969, the writer completed the first year of studies in the M.A. in Community Development Program at the University of Alberta. The need to complete a four month

internship as part of the requirements led the writer to seek work with Alberta NewStart, Inc. A fellow student had said "If you are ever going to know anything in Community Development you must meet Ben Baich." The writer's initial contact came when a group of students drove to Lac La Biche to meet B. Baich. We were all most favorably impressed with the things he told us - he was doing field work personally; he was knowledgeable about the Alberta political situation, community development agencies, the native situation, and he even seemed to have respect for our naive spirit of enquiry. Later in the spring of 1969, the writer was accepted as a summer student to work at Alberta NewStart, Lac La Biche with Mr. B. Baich.

It was only a few weeks after the writer arrived from university that the vision of a team of men working in a co-ordinated manner on a development project became reality. The writer was a member of the Community Counselling Team. They took her into various communities, let her travel with them, and invited her to meetings. Doubtless, their work would have been much easier without a white female along, however, they never begrudged the effort or explanations necessary to legitimize the writer's position.

The research functions of Alberta NewStart required a

great deal of raw field data. Travelling and working with the men, the writer had access to a great deal of material such as information inputs, community reactions, group process data and planning sessions. Reports of the team's daily activities were submitted to the Research Department of Alberta NewStart, Inc. (ANS) by the author. Each team member also kept a log, and these were shared with the writer too. In addition to these formal reports, a diary of subjective views, impressions and experiences was kept. All of these have been helpful in writing this thesis. Official NewStart data were made available to the author through the generosity of the Research Department. These written materials were supplemented by numerous informal interviews with team members, and personnel of Alberta NewStart. The information contained in the section on leadership was obtained during four formal interviews with individual team members.

These methodologies were used because they allowed the writer to remain involved in the process of community counselling. While empirical data might have been desirable, inexperience and desire not to interfere in the process in the communities made the writer hesitate. Documentation and analysis, it was hoped, would give insights beyond what

statistics could provide.

VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY

The writer was captured by the idea of team development, so cannot plead impartiality, but is trying to record in an intellectually honest way the field experience. It is difficult to tell when one is objective. Recently, a professor pointed out that to be objective is usually to be critical, to praise is to be subjective. Much of the material in the thesis is drawn from reports which the author considers to be objective. The reader may agree or disagree with this perception.

Limitations and Assumptions

The thesis deals with only one group of workers functioning in one section of the province and dealing with a population that is predominantly native. This document makes no attempt to compare this to other kinds of similar work.

The men used to form the team were indigenous, native workers. It is a major assumption of this thesis that the concept of team workers is effective only if the men are given a degree of freedom that allows them to interact freely and honestly with other team members, their leader, and staff members of the organization. The use of the term

"indigenous workers" should not indicate that they are considered inferior or incapable in any aspect of the work.

No educational criteria were used in the selection of the men. The writer made no attempt to explore the implications this might have.

The writer was not working with the team from September 1969 to April 1970, although frequent contact with them was maintained.

Terms of Reference

The writer's expectation for herself was to be the woman on the team and to act as a counsellor-writer. The team expected to produce changes to better the lives of people, while NewStart, desperate to get into the community, had no definite terms of reference.

CHAPTER 3

SOME STRUCTURES FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT OF INDIAN AND METIS

Community development became popular in Canada as a possible solution to some of the country's poverty problems. As a philosophy, method, movement and program, at various times and places, under various departments and governments, community development attempted to assist Indian and Metis people. Most of these programs were terminated after a short existence, or were in serious difficulty.

The following paragraphs outline some of the various reasons why these programs appear not to have succeeded.

When the Indian Affairs Branch began a quasi-community development program to "stimulate and motivate the Indians to help themselves", they discovered to their horror that Indians were willing to proceed on that basis - so they quickly hopped off the community development bandwagon.¹ Perhaps from the administrative level, community development

1. Harold Cardinal, The Unjust Society, Edmonton: M.G. Hurtig, 1969, p.105.

appeared to have failed, although great odds against it had made this almost a certainty. Within the Indian Affairs Branch, many people appeared to have missed the significance of the movement at the grass-roots and regional staff level.²

The Agricultural and Regional Development Act (ARDA) was passed in 1961, and the Department of Forestry and Rural Development applied it to improve income and employment opportunities. With a wide scope of development possibilities, ranging from soil and water conservation to research and rural development (encompassing development of resources, basic industries, education, training, and re-establishment), ARDA had the potential to significantly affect the lives of people in poverty areas. ARDA had failed to recognize the individual's ties to his environment. The program has trained individuals but has not taught them to adjust in the hours when they are not working. Spare time, integration to social activities in urban areas, and the like were not successfully handled. There is little precedent to show how to successfully teach basic life skills.

2. Wm. J. Wacko, "Some Personal Thoughts and Impressions about Community Development in Indian Affairs Branch," an unpublished paper, April 10, 1967.

In Alberta, the Department of Industry and Development was responsible for community development. The Community Development Branch was an active force in Alberta for five years, then the government, perhaps feeling the pressures too greatly, began a gradual process of removing the men who had worked in the field. The process was ably and efficiently carried out; the men who had organized native people into interest groups did not have their contracts renewed, were asked to leave, transferred to positions of silence, or 'co-opted' by a slow but continuing series of compromises.

Another organization which had been working with Indians and Metis people was the Company of Young Canadians (CYC). Harold Cardinal writes:

While CYC was not created to serve any particular ethnic group in Canada, a large part of its program was aimed at native communities. These young, instant experts on things Indians were, like community development officers, supposed to motivate the people to use their own initiative. Instead, bumbling and stumbling through community after community with little or no sensitivity to the feelings of the people they were going to help if it killed them, these dedicated amateurs discouraged and weakened Indian organizations. Some of them didn't want the Indians to progress except under their guiding hand. Some gave the curious impression they had invented the Indian. Nearly all were hopelessly unprepared for their tasks.³

3. Harold Cardinal, op.cit. p.105.

The Canada NewStart Program was originally conceived as a program to help the disadvantaged prepare for stable and rewarding employment. Intended to operate in small areas having high proportions of people inexperienced in work that would yield anything close to the average Canadian standard of living, the program was designed to "expose a population" in a learning situation to the nature of contemporary employment and give them social orientation and personal skills."⁴

It was a program much like the others except that its emphasis was on adult education. Nothing indicated that the community development method would be incorporated. Little was said about involvement of people.

Alberta NewStart, located in the northeastern part of the province, has a target population of 13,800. Mobile Family Training Centers have been established at Fort Chipewyan, Janvier, and Kikino Metis Colony. The Fort McMurray Vocational Center operates in cooperation with Alberta Department of Education. Subjects such as academic upgrading, vocational training and basic life skills are taught with the hope that adults will adapt to an industrial

4. Canada NewStart Program (unpublished pamphlet) undated, p.3. Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

society, and be able to function as independent citizens and wage-earners.

Although Alberta NewStart was equipped to aid people of all nationalities and races, the choice of communities determined that there would be largely Indian and Metis participants. In describing the population, an official A.N.S. document reads:

A substantial portion of our population have been denied the opportunities available to most Canadians for participating in the development of strong economic and social structures. Such denial stems from the fact that many individuals and groups are powerless to plan for their own destinies or to create their own opportunities for growth because of isolation, limited education and training, and lack of social awareness and political involvement.⁵
(emphasis added)

These lines are a mandate for microcosmic development in a macroprogram. The Community Counselling Team is not mentioned in the project proposals. It was the result of creative thinking and changing attitudes within Alberta NewStart. Originally, the emphasis in Alberta NewStart, Inc., was on adult education, not community development. However, a number of factors made it appear that community development was a necessity for the kind of work that was

5. Alberta NewStart Approach to Adult Education
(unpublished) undated, p.5. Queen's Printer, Ottawa.

being attempted, and that it might succeed where other programs had failed.

If community development in the Indian Affairs Department failed because of administrative problems, it was thought that these would be eliminated because core staff of Alberta NewStart (ANS) had a number of members who favored the idea of community involvement. ANS had the ARDA example from which to profit: they knew training must include basic life skills as well as job training. As a federally-financed corporation, ANS would be autonomous and freer from government pressures than provincial community development had been. If the Company of Young Canadians faltered because the personal strategies of the volunteers were poor, perhaps a team of men could overcome this pitfall. Alberta NewStart, Inc. was a new company. There was no predetermined way of "handling" natives. The name NewStart implied a willingness to experiment with new ideas which might truly give the people a new start.

CHAPTER 4

THE TEAM CONCEPT

A broad vision of the possibilities for native people, the team concept had grown out of Ben Baich's experience in the Company of Young Canadians and the Community Development Branch. Too often good men were failing in the field, not because they couldn't do the work, but because of psychological and social breakdowns and intellectual bankruptcy.

HUMAN DEVELOPMENT PROBLEM

In Alberta, the general practice of the Community Development Branch was to send a man and his family to live in the community he was 'developing'. This placed a tremendous strain on the individual - his need for "belonging" and community pressures to conform often led him to intimacies with the people of the community, impairing his relationship with them; or, if he escaped that pitfall, put his family in a position of having to meet most of his needs since he was largely isolated from many segments of the community. Families undergoing adjustments of their

own were often not strong enough to support special needs or meet the community-induced hostilities directed toward one member. Stormy family life impaired the development work. Some men became trapped in what is supposedly an Indian custom - that of sharing all their possessions with the community. A well-paid man could soon be dragged down to poverty and have his effectiveness impaired.

The practice of sending community development men into a community for a two-year period also created a sense of isolation from the parent organization. Whatever fellowship community development officers could develop with each other was limited to formal meetings when they 'got out' of the community or when visited by others.

A certain intellectual isolationism also prevailed - men had no way to check their perceptions of the community situation or community reaction to what was happening. The man had little opportunity to make comparisons between the community in which he was working and others in similar stages of development.

The provincial community development officers had no formal orientation or training before beginning their work. Conferences were infrequent, and communication somewhat slow because the workers lacked knowledge of what was happening in

other worker's areas. There was a lack of a provincial master development plan. The worker could not refer to a broad plan for the future either for his community or for any specific area. The difficulties the community development officer encountered were overwhelming, and his survival was unlikely.

THE TEAM CONCEPT

The central idea of team as developed by Ben Baich is that a group of men can be trained by dealing with what he calls the "foundations of life". He believes that people must have some awareness of the psychological processes of the individual, the social forces in a community, and the political forces of area and nation. Once a person knows these things, he can cope with the world around him in a much more meaningful way. Not only must people be knowledgeable about the foundations of life but a major premise of B. Baich's team concept is that if one has expectations and outlines these to the men, they will live up to them.

Team development might have appeared to an outsider to be haphazard; in reality, it was a carefully-thought-out design. In May, 1969, the concept of a team of men working together in the human development field began to take

tangible form.

As originally conceptualized, team membership was to build group morale. The small group process would enable the team members to deal with psychological problems, and work out their frustrations, dissensions, and hostilities. But more than this, the group, if made attractive to members, could become a cohesive body. Interaction of the group members would strengthen the group.¹ Group communications would be facilitated by using every technique available. It was hoped that group and individual productivity could be increased.

As members of a team, men could work in groups or pairs, or could call in another member working elsewhere to help assess particular community situations. As each team member would have different skills, and special areas in which he would excel, there would be a diversity of talent from which to draw. Although residents of the region, team members were not to work in their home community, except on a consultative basis. Instead, they would work in a neighboring area where they were not as well known, and where they did

1. Thelen states "Interaction brings reinforcement not possible in isolation." Leadership Psychology and Organizational Behavior by Bernard M. Bass (N.Y.; Harper, 1960, p.124).

not live. The worker's family would remain in the 'home' community, or move to the largest town in the area where they could enjoy the most normal and anonymous home life. Living outside the community would do three things: 1) provide a clearer perception of the community; 2) give a fresh view each time the counsellor returned; and 3) separate him from day-to-day trivia and gossip.

Employed men who like their jobs and are reasonably well-paid do not usually fail because of the work they do on the job; they often fail because of their off-hours behaviors. These behaviors affect the men, then their work. Almost always, the failure seems to lie outside the job in family instability, drinking, carousing, or gambling. It was hoped that a team of men with well-developed morale and a sense of responsibility could help each other control their social behaviors in those hours when social pressures would be most severe.

The Community Counselling Team was a unique project in Alberta NewStart, Inc., because it was a new combination of ideas pertaining to human development. There was no 'programmed learning' to be transported from the U.S.A. to Canada as in the adult education section; there was only the expectation that the men would succeed. The men, taken

from a poverty culture in which inferiority was assumed (several had been on welfare, others were struggling for subsistence), were thrown into drastic new situations with the expectation that they would not only learn, but also produce.

Hiring

In choosing the men who were to make up the Community Counselling Team, the Director and Assistant Director decided the two qualifications they most wanted the men to have were: a) the potential to do a good job; and b) the ability to survive on the job psychologically. To do the job, the person must be relaxed, and able to relate to all kinds of people - different languages, races, educational levels and backgrounds. The applicant must have the ability to 'understand where the other person is at', must know when to act and when not to act, must have knowledge of the people with whom he is likely to be dealing, and preferably should speak English as well as an Indian language.

To survive in the tough mental work they would be doing, the men must be of strong character and must not have any large personal problems - their drinking habits must be moderate, and their family lives relatively stable.

In considering who would be most likely to possess these

qualities, the Director and Assistant Director decided that native men would work best with native people. The idea of using indigenous native men in responsible positions usually filled by candidates possessing Master's degrees was daring and new. Indian men had been employed as village-level workers to serve as community development officer's assistants, and Indian women had assisted public health nurses and school teachers in Northern Alberta. Never had indigenous workers been challenged with development in the same way that "professionals" are challenged. Although they lacked many of the paper qualifications usually considered essential, native men would begin at the level of the people, would be seen as people, not agents, and would not have the difficulty of a culture gap that whites would have.²

Previous experience had shown that Chipewyan counsellors must work with Chipewyan communities; Cree counsellors must work with Crees: latent tribal hostilities and the language barrier reduced the effectiveness of a Cree trying to work in a Chipewyan community. Cartwright, writing about the group as a medium of change, states: "If the group is to

2. B. Baich says professional white community workers would take 18 months to begin to produce whereas natives produce immediately.

be used effectively those people who are to be changed and those who are to exert the influence for change must have a strong sense of belonging to the same group."³

The men chosen for the counsellor's positions on the team were hand-picked from the local communities which NewStart was seeking to serve. Employment was confirmed after one personal interview. No applications were completed until after the job was accepted. At the time of commencement at Alberta NewStart, the men had been under-employed as reserve policeman, janitor, pipeline worker, school bus driver, and maintenance man. Several were receiving income supplements from provincial welfare.

The Assistant Director had worked as casual help for the Community Development Branch in Alberta, and had a horse ranch. The Director had worked with Indian Affairs, the Company of Young Canadians, and the Alberta Community Development Branch.

These men came together to form the Community Counseling Team of Alberta NewStart, Inc. The Assistant Director

3. Darwin Cartwright, "Achieving Change in People" Current Perspectives in Social Psychology edited by E.D. Hollander R.G. Hunt, New York: Oxford University Press, 1963. p.512.

and Director had worked previously within NewStart as a community developer and guidance counsellor. A group of men, with an idea for development, the team hoped to overcome the problems other programs had encountered and alleviate some of the problems of poverty people in the area.

PRE-SERVICE TRAINING

To conceptualize and compartmentalize an unstructured pre-service training session is immensely difficult. Nevertheless, the writer has chosen to discuss the sessions under the following headings: a) Use of Resource People; b) Public Speaking; c) Writing Job Descriptions; and d) Training for Psychological and Social Survival.

The initial sessions were teaching-learning situations. During the first week these were reasonably formal seminars led by the Director. In time, questioning and information-giving on diverse topics began informally over coffee in the Community Counselling office. The team learned a new vocabulary - that of human development. Regional economic problems, the War on Poverty, the Head Start projects of the U.S.A., and the NewStart and community development programs of Canada were discussed. The team learned of Government structures - not as they would from a political scientist - but from the point of view of the person trying to talk to his elected representatives. For people accustomed to speaking only to local civil servants, the idea of talking with government ministers was revolutionary.

USE OF RESOURCE PEOPLE

It has become common in society for people to acquiesce to demands of distant and impersonal authorities such as churches, corporations, and government. As centralized control increases, independent thought decreases. Part of this process has been the loss of ability to talk with self-dignity to powerful people on a man-to-man basis.

People tend to view governments as large, incomprehensible and unreachable systems so complex that individuals or communities cannot influence them.

To show people that government exists to carry out the will of the people, and to teach people how they can participate is not easy.

The assurance that 'I' have opinions important enough to gain the attention of influential people is not acquired by mere reassurance. Such conviction grows out of discussion of important matters that helps the discussor to discriminate between important and unimportant opinions.¹

The problem the professional worker faces is whether or not the group he is working with is ready for this experience. Although contact with resource people, politicians, and

1. W. Biddle and L. Biddle, The Community Development Process, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965, p.150.

community influentials is an excellent experience, a meeting in which the beginning group loses face can cause a sense of failure and create impressions that are difficult to erase.

When the Community Counselling team had trained for only two days, community resource people were invited to the sessions. The Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Social Development workers, and Alberta NewStart personnel contributed inputs. Team members, already convinced of the vital message in what they had to say, were able to interact, respond and present a perspective they realized was different from that of the visitors. They listened intently and asked intelligent questions. That they could perform so competently was seen as a fine example of what rising expectations could do.

The Community Counselling team continued to educate itself by meeting with resource people. Members talked with government leaders, native leaders, senior civil servants, workers in the field employed by other agencies; and with administrative, teaching, maintenance, and head office staff at Alberta NewStart. The team maintained liaisons with the University of Alberta through the Community Development Program.²

2. Fieldtrips, guest lectures and a summer internship were examples of liaison activities.

One of the most interesting and gratifying experiences in the development of the Community Counselling Team was to watch the way the team members delegated to visit the government grew in competence and conceptions of self-worth. Supported by a thoughtful and emotionally-supportive group, intellectually prepared, the men were able to function as autonomous individuals and to bargain strongly for their people.

PUBLIC SPEAKING

The ability to speak well in public is an invaluable aid to a change agent. Men in development work are often asked to preside, present an issue, or argue a cause at a meeting. Doing so effectively might influence the future course of development and affect many lives positively.

Most of the team members had never before conducted a meeting, so they had to cope with stage fright as well as concerning themselves with content and delivery. They learned that a speaker must be articulate and intelligible. He must use aids to know his material so well he could depend on his memory, even in the midst of tense meetings. He must also be aware of projection, non-verbal communication, the audience's reaction to him, and to what he says.

Since the men spoke English fluently, they often were asked by professional workers or natives to act as translators and interpreters. Translation is always fraught with difficulties, especially since some Indian languages do not have concepts that are very simply expressed in English. The importance of exact translation was known to the men: they discussed instances they had heard when a sloppy translation had adversely affected the speaker's meaning. As the men overcame their fears and learned how to articulate problems, run meetings, and translate, they were increasingly effective as change agents.

WRITING JOB DESCRIPTIONS

Most companies hire a man to fill a specific job. The individual adapts to the job but is unable to meet all the idealistic demands placed upon him.

At Alberta NewStart, after lengthy discussion of corporation and team goals, the Community Counselling men collectively wrote their own job description. It, too, was idealistic, but realistically conceived. The job expectations the Director had for the men, and the men had for themselves were clarified. As a collective effort, the team also set out the things they wanted and expected from the Director and

Assistant Director in a job description.

TRAINING FOR PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL SURVIVAL

The most important process in pre-Service Training was educating the men for psychological survival.

In life, there is physical survival - a constant struggle to satisfy physiological needs such as hunger, thirst and sex; and safety needs such as security, stability and order. Maslow in a multifactor theory posits five levels of need in a hierarchy. In addition to physiological and safety needs, they are: belongingness and love needs such as needs for affection, affiliation and identification; esteem needs such as needs for prestige, success, and self-respect; and the need for self-actualization.³ Maslow's theory is an interesting one, for he contends that the order of hierarchy is both that in which the needs tend to appear in a normally developing person, and the order in which they tend to be satisfied, that is, physiological needs will be satisfied before psychological needs. The implication of the last statement is enormous. It means that people

3. Clifford T. Morgan, Introduction to Psychology, Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1956.

struggling for physiological survival cannot give attention to the psychological needs. Self-actualization, defined as the development of full potentialities of the person, becomes a remote possibility for people living economically difficult lives in the northlands of Alberta.

The team was aware of a necessity to help people, but they also knew that they must be able to survive themselves when working in the field. To do this, they had to analyse where their personal needs were being met. By pooling information and sharing experiences, the men were able to talk about how it felt to be poor, on welfare, in jail, or on a colony or reserve where someone was always taking care of them. They discussed dependency that became too great for the people to conquer. Often the need to belong and be well-thought-of in the community triumphed over a man's desire for independent action. Older men spoke of disciplines and social pressures that had once prevailed in communities which satisfied the individual's need for security and self-respect, and constantly pushed the individual to try to improve himself. Talking about these feelings, and, in many cases learning that others felt the same way, strengthened the team.

When the team came on the job, there was insecurity

about personal competence because of the three-month probation period before permanent hiring would take place. To deal with this uneasiness, which could only be lessened - not totally resolved - the men began a system of letting each other know how they were perceiving the work being done. When the work was good, they praised; when it was bad, they tried to point out where the faults could lie, and possible solutions. This co-operative attitude and practice and its success owed much to the Director and Assistant Director who initiated it.

People who are struggling for self-actualization do not have much time to be jealous. "You will be too busy to have hang-ups about race" the Director told the men. "Your tribal feuds must be forgotten." Joking relationships and friendly rivalries developed over racial differences as each man strove to excel. Because the men were becoming interdependent, and because of external social pressures on the team, a strong united front was more and more essential. Only rarely could they afford to indulge in teasing because of what they were. The prevailing philosophy was "It's not what you are or where you've been that's important; it's what

you're doing."⁴

The men's salaries at Alberta NewStart pulled them from the numbers of people struggling for subsistence, but brought with it attendant problems. As members of native communities, they were expected to share the wealth. In a community of five hundred, a salary that could have raised families to middle class standards disappeared in a day. One of the ways the community used to make the men share was to taunt them about becoming white men. No native wishes to lose his status in such a way. The Director and Assistant Director explained to the men that few people ever think of an Indian becoming affluent and still maintaining a cultural identification with his people. They pointed out that poverty is not inextricably linked to Indianness, that affluence is not the exclusive property of the white race. Through group process, the men came to understand this phenomena, and were able to give mutual support. The men's wives were involved, and an explanation made so they would understand when they became involved.

The team had to learn to deal with emotions, for the

4. Saul Alinsky, "Encounter with Saul Alinsky," Challenge for Change Film Series, National Film Board.

way people deal with emotions is the most frequent source of difficulty in their relationships. They had to know the various defense mechanisms in order to be aware of attempts to evade reality. The writer observed rationalizing behaviors, escaping by illness, projecting blame to others, compensating for the things they could not do as ways the men sought comfortable psychic states. They had to be able to cope with hostility, depression, tension, and frustration in acceptable ways. A sulking member could tax the energies of the whole team. The usual solution followed was to 'talk out' the problem before going home or out to work. Otherwise, family stability and community projects would be jeopardized.

PARTICIPATION OF WIVES IN TRAINING

Involvement of the men's wives was an integral part of training. Since families were meeting most of the men's needs, it was essential that they understand the stresses the men would work under and the need for support. The women spent one day at the office with their husbands attending a seminar on Community Counselling during the pre-service training sessions. The men talked to their wives, explaining the drag-down system and job they were expected to do. The

men showed the women around the offices of Alberta NewStart, and took them to lunch in the cafeteria. Later in the team's development the women were again involved - this time in discussions of community pressures. They discussed the wives' tales and gossip that the community creates so they will exert pressure on their husbands. For example, community fabrications about men carrying on with other women were used. Once the women understood this phenomena, they could support their husbands in their work.

PSYCHOLOGICAL PRESSURES

Another psychological pressure was the work ethic.⁵ As the time for pre-service training to end approached, team members became increasingly restless. Husky men accustomed to hard manual labor, they had difficulty in adjusting to the idea that this, too, was work.⁶ There was also a problem with other office staff who perceived the team to be doing nothing, or at least producing nothing. There was tension from

5. Work is good and desirable to those who subscribe to the work ethic.

6. Poverty groups tend to regard manual work more highly than white collar work in North America.

misunderstanding between the Community Counsellors and head office staff, who regarded each burst of laughter from behind closed doors of the Community Counselling office as an affront to their own hard work. The curiosity, resentment and watchfulness of the other staff bothered the men. One counsellor remarked later, "I felt very closed in I thought everyone was watching me."⁷ Once the men understood the total process, they could avoid creating problems to solve so they would feel worthwhile.

Psychological pressures from the outer office, expectations of community people, and the team's own needs motivated them to high production. They wanted desperately to prove to the community that they could succeed, not only for their own sakes, but because they had captured some of B. Baich's vision of a better Canada. Each had a new awareness of his potential.

The pre-service training session allowed the men to meet resource people who would later prove important in their work. In the small group, the men became increasingly vocal as they experimented with ideas and ways of arguing a cause. A job description written by the men clarified the expectations of the men, the Director and Corporation. The combination of new

7. Marshall Howse, in a personal interview, May 1, 1970.

self-knowledge, different views of the community and newly acquired skills prepared the men to enter the communities in which they would be working.

CHAPTER 6

ENTERING THE COMMUNITIES

The Community Counselling component of Alberta NewStart (ANS) was formed about one year after actual operations in the field began. In each of the communities, ANS had brought in mobile trailers which had been arranged to form a centre where training in various skills such as carpentry, plumbing, driver training, heavy equipment operation was conducted.

The problem of legitimizing the counsellors in the communities was minimized - they were part of an organization already in the community. Many people living in the target communities had suggested that increased community - corporation contact would be useful. The problem the counsellors faced was to enter the community in a way which did not further damage NewStarts relationship with the people. In Janvier, for example, the appearance of trailers had been the first indication the community had that they were to be hosts to a NewStart program.

The specific community in which each counsellor was to work was never described to him. He was to develop his own perceptions of the area.

Thoroughly prepared by pre-service training, the counsellor knew that communities have psychological states just as any group does; the community might be characterized by agony, fear, hostility, superficiality, apathy, activity or happiness. The counsellors also knew they would have to be aware of their own psychological reaction to the community. The initial impression formed on a gloomy, raining day might have a lasting impact on their work.

The usual method the Community Counsellors would use to announce themselves to a community would be to call a public meeting. Remembering that unhealthy communities are often divided along ethnic or racial lines, they would talk about themselves, how they came here, how they perceived the community, and how they saw the future for the children and the adults. The counsellors would tell the people what they were hoping to do in the community, and that they would want to speak with each family in their homes. This announcement would allow the residents to prepare both psychologically and physically for the visit. There would be time for them to tidy their houses and prepare the questions they wanted to ask the counsellors.

Announcing one's intention to visit may seem an ordinary and quite customary courtesy. In native com-

munities, it is not the practice. The writer has observed among some civil servants a desire to "catch" people in the early morning hours. The resulting embarrassment and resentment negates any possible empathetic contact. Awareness of the many details which influence one's effectiveness made the counsellors very careful in their initial approach to the community.

Counsellors would spend several hours in each home during the initial visit. Knowing how surveys and research disturb the people, they would not use any paper and pencil until they knew them more intimately. Surveys, it must be remembered, have the connotation of Land Survey, which to many natives means an infringement on their territorial rights.

The model for entering a community was flexible and had to be adapted to fit each counsellor's personality and the situation in the community.

When the team and the writer travelled to the communities, even though they prepared themselves for the shock of expected poverty, they were struck by the contrast between urban and native communities. Janvier left a number of vivid impressions.

Janvier Community

Provided the weather is dry, the airplane lands on a dirt runway. The day the counsellors arrived, two young Indians jumped into their 1961 Pontiac at a nearby house and roared down the dusty track to the "airport." The car, one of two vehicles in the settlement, creaked along the road as the men drove the counsellors past the neat Rectory and school and scattered Indian houses. They were small, usually made of logs, and appeared to be one-room structures. Sometimes there would be glass in the windows, but more likely, gaping holes. As the group rounded the last corner, and bumped over the last pothole to see the Alberta NewStart mobiles sitting in a large scarred area. Beyond were the Metis homes, more run-down, hopeless and less sturdy. Outside, children played in the yellow clay. The bridge between the settlements had fallen through into the creek which was stagnant and rusty with debris. Dogs, half starved, were chained behind the houses. Thick dust rose wherever there was motion.

The team had just returned from Ottawa, and the busy streets of Ottawa and the dusty tracks of Janvier provided vivid contrast. One counsellor said, "We need to get away and then return so we could look at this with a fresh

view".¹

The Counsellors went into Janvier before the Director and the writer. They established their goals, decided on a method of approach, recorded it formally, and then proceeded to visit informally with native trainees at the Alberta NewStart Centre and in the community. Midway through the week, Cyril Muskego, the Chipewyan Community Counsellor, conducted a short meeting with the NewStart trainees to explain his and the team's work. Muskego spoke in Chipewyan, which surprised and delighted the Indians and Metis, but disturbed the white staff members. Although as team members, we had been cautioned that speaking in a language people cannot understand creates resentment, the team was unprepared for the hostility and negativeness of the white staff. Perhaps they assumed that all the trainees were fluent enough in English so as to no longer need to speak in Chipewyan. An element of control seemed to have crept into the Centre. Muskego's speech questioned the power of whites to always know everything. The Janvier meeting was an excellent example of pressures that could arise against a native team of men from inside the agency.

1. M.L'Hirondelle - June, 1969.

One man could be broken quickly; the support of the team was essential.

After this meeting, Cyril Muskego, Ben Baich, and the writer travelled by truck the length of the settlement, talking about the community, where people lived, and how roads connected. We also talked about the meeting, a kind of instant evaluation of who was there, what had been said, how it came across, and how people appeared to react to it. It had been the first time Muskego had spoken publicly. He had done, we decided, a creditable job.

Fort McMurray

In July, one month after commencement, the team travelled together to Fort McMurray. In contrast to Janvier, Fort McMurray is a booming oil town with paved streets, suburban sections, and a white population "sympathetically hostile" to Indians and Metis. Among whites, the attitude is sympathy, but toward the natives they react with hostility. The team had hoped to be able to co-ordinate resources with the provincial government's Community Development Officer, the Village Level Worker, and Preventive Social Services Worker of the Social Development Department, and the five members of the Alberta NewStart Family Counselling group, all resident there. The Director and the writer had al-

ready spoken to the Community Development Officer about co-ordinating the community work. Since the Alberta NewStart organization in Fort McMurray was enjoying unfavorable publicity at that time, the Community Development Officer had little desire to join forces.² He and the Village Level Worker worked separately, so the good rapport we had built with the V.L.W. could not be put to use. The Preventive Social Services Worker was new to Fort McMurray. The five native members of the Family Counselling team were busy helping newly arrived native families who would attend ANS move into their homes. After one day of futile arguing about co-ordination of services, the team decided to go ahead and plan work in the community independent of the other agencies.

This was an example of the impossibility of one man working in a huge territory. It also indicated the need for strong, knowledgeable men to deal with the agencies in the town who already have their own programs. It also revealed the problem of inter-agency co-ordination which seems to be almost an impossibility if there is not a design that makes people work together.

2. A number of factors were at work. ANS had joined with a program sponsored by Department of Education. The disruptions this caused were a problem, as was NewStart's affluence and its native orientation.

Marshall Howse and Harrison Cardinal were introduced to personnel at the Alberta Vocational School which Alberta NewStart operates in co-operation with the Department of Education. This was the beginning of an attempt to provide corporation-community liaisons.

In the latter part of the week spent in Fort McMurray, the team ran a training session for twenty women who were the community leaders of various women's organizations in Fort McMurray. These white women represented all the major clubs in town. The session was planned to stimulate discussion about Indian-Metis problems which would hopefully lead to a lessening of the separation between native and white women and ultimately lead to community action. B. Baich talked about poverty as a Canadian problem, and the Indian-Metis populations and their enslavement. He explained that Indian and Metis communities which were at one time strong and powerful are now shockingly disorganized. The community and social pressures that were at one time operative in the community have broken, leaving behind individuals crippled because of lack of support. For example, family upsets were once subjected to the ministrations of the community and resolved. Now there are no "community psychologists".

The women's reaction to the sessions was one of great interest. They expressed their viewpoints and discussed some of their experiences. The idea that the problem the women thought was unique to Fort McMurray was really Canadian, seemed to cause most amazement.

Although the two groups had mutually decided not to co-ordinate, the counsellors worked with Clive Linklater, Community Development Officer, who talked about the myths that surround poor people and in particular native people.

One myth is that Indians like things the way they are. From personal experience, the community development officer was able to tell the women that natives do not reject the good life or the benefits of technology. Native people have the same concerns about pregnancy, and the future for children that others have. A second myth is that Indians are dirty, lazy, apathetic and won't keep a job. The worker quoted the following figures to indicate the fallacy of that statement. In the period August 1964-1968, 63% of the whites transferred or left their jobs with Great Canadian Oil Sands (Fort McMurray). In the same period, 37% of the Indians transferred or left their jobs. A third myth that circulated wildly in this northern community was that Indians were carriers of venereal disease. In Fort

McMurray in 1966, 6% of the Indian population, 11% of the Metis population, and 22% of the white population were afflicted.³ The fourth myth is that natives are mentally inferior to whites yet most natives speak several languages. A fifth fiction is that Indians can not articulate their own problems - they need a white spokesman to clarify their concerns. When seen from a different viewpoint with evidence presented by a native man, the women began to discuss these fallacies which often trap people.

The women divided into small groups to talk about what they felt were the most important problems in Fort McMurray. Housing, liquor laws, the youth problem, indifference of many residents, poverty, prejudice, educational difficulties, dictatorial attitudes of the town fathers, job insecurity and the high rents were defined and discussed.

On the second day of the seminar, the women discussed the topics further. Harrison Cardinal made his debut as a Community Counsellor with the exercise of speaking in Cree. Unlike the Janvier situation, he was not speaking to the majority of those present. Perhaps five people had the

3. These statistics are from unpublished studies compiled by C. Linklater in Fort McMurray while he was C.D.O. there in 1968 conveyed verbally to the writer in July 1969.

capacity to understand him. The women waited impatiently for Cardinal to finish. At last the tension broke. "Why did you speak to us in Cree?" demanded a woman who had been admiring Cardinal's articulate and fluent English.

"I spoke in Cree," he said, "to show you what white people do to Indians. You have been speaking English to people who could not understand you, yet you berated them for their lack of comprehension. When you could not understand, you were disinterested and uninvolved. You have left out the Indians and Metis in this way."

At the conclusion of this seminar, although the woman's solutions were still of the rummage-sale variety, they had agreed to meet again to try to reach better and more realistic solutions.⁴ They were seeing the native problem as one segment of the poverty problem, and they were considering how they might contact native women and families to better racial attitudes in their community.

4. Use of the term "rummage-sale" solutions refers to the idea often held by whites that all they need to do is have a rummage sale and donate the proceedings to a worthy cause and all will be well. In this context the writer has used it to emphasize the non-involvement of these white women.

Lac La Biche

Both George Huppie and Maurice L'Hirondelle were from Lac La Biche. They had no formal introduction to the communities but were familiar with the area because in-service training meetings had used Lac La Biche people, and because both had lived in the area. In time these men extended this area to include the Beaver Lake Indian Reserve, the French Community of Plamondon, the Mission, six miles west of Lac La Biche where a Catholic mission had been established, and Imperial Mills and Owl River-northeast from Lac La Biche on the railway that runs to Fort McMurray.

Lac La Biche and surrounding communities are a mixture of racial and ethnic groups. Lac La Biche has a large Syrian and Lebanese population, a Metis-Indian section east of the town called Moccasin Flats, a Northern European population to the south, and French speaking Canadians to the west. The Lac La Biche territory extended at times as far south as Goodfish Lake Indian Reserve.

The technique used in the Lac La Biche area was different from the type of community entrance of other counselors. The area was fragmented, both geographically, and because of the many different ethnic origins. Further, the Lac La Biche area was within easy access to a major city;

transportation and communication could be facilitated more readily than in an isolated community such as Janvier. The Lac La Biche area is one example of a community where the model for entering communities had to be scrapped.

Kikino

Perhaps the most important thing one can say about Kikino is that it is a Metis Colony. The word "colony" is an accurate, if damning, expression of the status the provincial government Metis Rehabilitation Branch would confer on Kikono's residents. It indicates that Albertans do not feel the Metis of Kikino are capable of handling their own affairs; rather, the government must continue to administer to them. But the people of Kikino are close to Lac La Biche and St. Paul, giving them contact with developments in Alberta. They are politically more sophisticated than many urbanites. The rundown hamlet, the single store run by the Colony supervisor, and the miniscule post office belie the dynamic will to better themselves of Kikinites. It is a community of happenings.

Joe Cardinal was introduced to Kikino community by William Bull who had worked there before becoming Assistant Director. Cardinal slipped into the community quietly, as befits his personality, and began to visit the people.

Because W. Bull had worked there, the people understood what Cardinal's role would be. Marshall Howse and Harrison Cardinal had lived at Kikino and were consulted by Joe Cardinal frequently.

Each counsellor entered "his" community in a slightly different way. This flexibility and ability to adapt are marks of a good human developer.

THE TEAM'S WORK

The Community Counselling Team's Work falls into two components, first, community development, and second, the recruitment and follow-up of native students who attend the adult education training classes held in Alberta New-Start Centres.

The community development section has been broken into several components:

- (a) approaches of the team
- (b) introduction and initiation
- (c) projects

local reactions to personalities, approaches and projects, extent and modes of local participation.

APPROACHES OF THE TEAM

In the preceding two chapters, the training of the men and their entries into the various communities have been described. The success or failure of their community counselling was in part due to their attitude and philosophy with which they approached the community. The following statements approximate the philosophy of the team:

1. All people, no matter how unambitious they may appear, have a desire to better themselves. They have personal and communal needs. They suffer when these needs are not met and wish that something could be done to meet them.
2. The difficulties preventing fulfillment of those needs are too great for the resources which they both have. Backwardness is not caused by laziness or lack of ambition. If the people had the opportunity to do something about their needs they would become active and progress.
3. All groups can do something to help themselves when given an opportunity to do so on their own terms. Most outsiders who try to help people of Indian ancestry expect them to solve their problems using white standards of behavior. Metis and Indians would organize many successful community improvements if they were allowed to solve their problems in their own way.
4. In order to achieve lasting changes it is necessary to influence simultaneously various aspects of human behavior. The cultural and social life of any people constitutes an interrelated whole.¹ Changes in one section may affect many others.

These attitudes or beliefs were sometimes present when individual team members began their work. In other cases, they developed as a result of experiences in the field.

The Team of Community Counsellors are committed to the proposition that "the responsibility for the revitalization of the Indian society falls upon the shoulders of the

1. Jean H. Lagasse, "Community Development in Manitoba", Human Organization, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1961-62, p.214.

Indian people, and no one else."² By extension this applies to the Metis people too. The role of whites is to act as resource people, to delineate alternatives and attempt solutions which the native men can then discuss with the community. After the strategies were laid out, then native men were free to criticize, react, change or reject.

To operate in this way requires flexibility, autonomy, mutual trust, honesty and openness. B. Baich, as a non-native counsellor and Director of the team, had to make certain he was not influencing the men too much. The white resource person must be careful that he is not too powerful, too coercive, too authoritarian, or merely using Indians as agents to legitimize the infliction of his own design on the community. He must be careful that he does not become what Crees call an 'okimaw' - someone who is always trying to be boss. Did this process actually occur in the team? The following table represents the results of an observational schedule.

2. Harold Cardinal, Ibid, p.93.

TABLE I

AN OBSERVATIONAL SCHEDULE OF

THREE TEAM MEMBERS IN DISCUSSION

Dimensions*	Participants		
	B.B.	W.B.	M.M.
Positive reaction	11	18	21
Negative reaction	6	7	2
Information-giving	8	11	12
Questioning	5	2	1
Attempted solutions	17	11	3
Total Responses	47	49	39

*Bales, 1951, p.59

Discussants	B. Baich, W. Bull, M. Howse
Observers	J. Cardinal, R. Boucher, E. Klapstein
Date	June 25, 1970
Time	10:50 - 11:20 a.m.
Place	Community Counselling Office
Subject	Kikino demonstration

The writer's interpretation from the foregoing data is:

B. Baich laid out a number of alternatives. This is shown by his high score on attempted solutions. The two native men supplied information of the situation - shown by their high information score, and Baich's higher question score. B. Baich reacted less to material than did native men - Baich had a total of 17 reactions, Bull 25, and Howse, 23.

B. Baich was positive 67% of the time. He was trying to balance the situation.

W. Bull was positive 72% of the time. He was arguing a particular position.

M. Howse was positive 92% of the time. In this case, he was acting as a facilitator for the two men.

The results of the observational schedule indicate that in this case the non-native man was operating in a way which provided a number of alternatives to a problem. If possitive or negative reactions reflect decisions, then the native men were both making more evaluations than B. Baich.

This links to the concern that Indian people be determining their future. In this case, the team members were seeking advice from a person who had knowledge of the situation, but they were constantly evaluating and deciding how to use that advice.

INTRODUCTION AND INITIATION

The initial step of community counselling was to become familiar with the community. Because of their native status the team had little difficulty in beginning the second process of information dissemination. The team

were working with people who generally are "hidden" from society - both in that society does not see these people because they live in backward homes in inaccessible places, and because, except for radios, they are beyond the reach of the media. They do not know what is happening.

Before a person can motivate or organize these people, a vast adult education program must take place. Broken, dispirited people, they must be made aware of the alternatives that still exist for them. The Counsellor must convey confidence that they themselves are capable of changing their lives for the better.

The Counsellors had to talk about things happening in Canada, the vast numbers of people trapped in poverty; the economic, social and political reasons for these. In a vague and possibly ill-defined way, poor people have knowledge of failure and the reasons for it that middle-class whites never have. They lack solutions - at least alternative solutions - to the passive acceptance of a degrading dehumanizing life.

As staff members of an adult education institution, the team had some alternatives immediately available. They could also offer suggestions on ways long-range goals could be met through meetings and co-operative action with neighbors.

The team of men, always educating themselves, had experiences which could be passed to the community. For example, meetings with government officials had many purposes:

1. They gave the team a reputation for being where the action is.
2. The team could educate communities about bureaucratic functions.
3. The team was known to decision-makers and vice-versa.

Developing Leadership in a Community

When organizing groups of people, the leadership potential of the community must be discerned and developed. Leadership depends upon the legitimacy of a person assuming a position, the willingness of the community to accept him in that position, his visibility to potential followers, his scope of influence, and the cohesiveness of the group he intends to lead. Leadership theory suggests people attempt leadership because:

1. they think the attempt will succeed,
2. it satisfies some need,
3. it leads to task accomplishment,
4. the situation is unique; there is no established leadership or method of handling it,
5. community pressures force them to lead,

6. they can see an effective pattern of action no one else is trying.³

The situation in which the team found themselves is difficult for whites to imagine. In small towns, it is common to find a number of churches, fraternal orders and recreational clubs in addition to town, district and municipal organizations. It is hard to think of places where the people never have meetings, never meet for dances or recreation, never discuss a common problem, and do not even know who the leaders of the community are. Imagine 'developing leadership' in such a situation!

Usually, when asked, the community people were able to list a number of problems common to the area. They could also provide a history of the community and the attempts, if any, that had been made to solve these problems. Questions asked in the house-to-house visiting after an initial community meeting provided valuable data on problems the community saw and possible solutions. The meetings of small groups in people's homes provided an arena in which discussants could examine, criticize, and consider new ideas and

3. W. D. Hawley and F. Wirt, The Search for Community Power, Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., pp.263 and 314, and Bernard M. Bass, Leadership, Psychology and Organizational Behavior, New York: Harper and Brothers 1960, p.452.

facts in the light of their experience. In these meetings, as ideas were tested, the native people began to realize the importance of what they were saying, and leaders began to emerge and be recognized. Experimentation with leadership in small groups was vital - in "safe" situations, people tried out and gained support for their ideas; in discussion, many things were clarified. The encouragement and strength of the team provided emotional support for people wavering before attempting to lead.

Occasionally, as in Janvier, community pressures forced a man recognized as legitimate leader to become more active. David Janvier, elected chief of the Indians, had enormous potential, but no experience. When Premier Strom and a group of Cabinet ministers flew into Janvier in response to a letter from the people stating a number of community problems, David Janvier, despite his inclination to "take to the brush", presented the people's case. He was able to grasp the situation at hand, his timing and strategies were excellent, and he and his council ran the meeting. Such an encounter did much to legitimize his position in the eyes of his followers, and D. Janvier was much more confident after that experience. Whenever he was reticent to attempt some new act of leadership, counsellors could remind him

that he had bargained successfully with the Premier.

In this instance a number of forces acted to create excellent emergent leadership:

1. community pressures
2. desperation - bargaining is likely to be a one-chance situation, so the initial encounter must be fruitful
3. personal needs - David Janvier is a young man, son of a chief, and needs to prove himself

A phenomenon which accompanies the emergence of a leader is such that when one man begins to lead, a number of other capable people quickly appear as potential candidates for his position. Once an active group has come forth, projects and plans can begin.

PROJECTS

Assisting the Group to Take Action on Reaching Goals

Usually at some point in meetings the counsellors noticed a number of problems were frequently named as major concerns of the community. At a general meeting, the counsellor would encourage people to define their problems and then choose the most important to work on. The problems selected would be discussed in terms of past attempts to solve them and the possibility or impossibility of solutions. In their capacity of change agent at these meetings, the men

played a variety of roles: they were consultants, counsellors, resource people and teachers. A counsellor might note contradictions, sort out relationship, or contribute information if the discussions appeared stymied. Some commitment by the citizens to work on some of the problems might be made. Discussion continued until a plan of action emerged. The counsellor might assist in making the plan operational: if information were needed, he might assist the people in forming a committee to write letters or contact resource people.

The organization of people to this stage was something that could happen in relative obscurity. However, as the search for solutions widened, the situation often became very political.

The Politics of Group Organization

Some have said that it is not the business of private men to meddle with government.... To say that private men have nothing to do with government is to say that private men have nothing to do with their own happiness or misery; that people ought not to concern themselves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or starved, deceived or instructed, protected or destroyed

CATO

The recognition and definition of a problem by community people followed by a commitment to work on that problem set off a series of forces in which established channels of

action were explored for solutions. Sometimes the institutionalized forms were able to respond to the needs of the people. But often, the bargaining failed, forcing them to use pressure to get further action. Like most emerging constituencies, the people faced problems of legitimization and recognition.

Initial conflict is always disturbing. Groups accustomed to compromise and accommodation (especially if accommodation means that one group remains subordinate to the others) often become uncomfortable when they realize the subordinate group may resort to violence to alter its condition.

While those inside the community sought to legitimize their leadership with their constituency, they were also trying to convince those external to the community of their right to lead. Usually, the establishment's first responses to minor confrontation were denial of the viability of the community organization. "It is just some shot-in-the-dark group excited by a rabble rouser", or tokenism, perhaps sending a very minor civil servant out to "settle those people down", usually with token gifts and evasive answers such as "I don't know, I'll have to contact my government." Occasionally there were attempts to co-opt the emerging

leadership in ways such as hiring men to work in the government.

When people are not involved in a community, when they feel apart and unidentified, they are quick to overstep the bounds of legitimate methods and carry the dispute into disruptive channels. This kind of response by the government establishment to confrontation almost always leads to escalation of the greater risks involved. The viability of all parties concerned is at stake, and violence or non-violence is merely the result of the pattern of interaction. The struggles within the community over authority, representation and bargaining continue, but the difficulties the community face unify them. Most constituencies are able to present a front strong enough to qualify them for entrance to the social, economic and political institutions.

The following section describes what happens when strongly-organized people commit themselves to an issue. Both Community Counsellors and Alberta NewStart were involved.

The Team Helps to Organize a Pressure Group

Pressure groups are associations which use political means for the promotion of strictly economic, usually class, interests. Typically they deal with specific issues and

organize minorities.⁴

The Lac La Biche sit-in in January, 1970 exemplified use of a pressure group. The Metis people of Lac La Biche, frustrated at the closing of the Lac La Biche NewStart Centre, disappointed because of Slave Lake's twenty million dollar federal grant, and incensed because "we always lose" conducted a series of meetings beginning at Kikino and Caslan to talk about alternatives to action.⁵ To discuss in retrospect, with certainty, the forces which combined to goad these people to action would be impossible. In this writer's opinion, the work done by the Metis Association representatives in the last six months, the team's patient, thoughtful community development methods, the development of indigenous leaders, the political sophistication of Kikino-Caslan Metis or a combination of these factors lit the spark. The team now modestly says that because there are change agents in the community, these things happen, but the

4. Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, Character and Social Structure, New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1953, p.439.

5. A twenty million dollar grant to the Slave Lake area to be administered by Human Resource Development Authority was announced in late December by the Department of Regional Economic Expansion.

involvement is indirect. Robert Boucher said "We poured the gas, Slave Lake lit the match." The bitter cold winter wind fanned the fire, spreading word through Lac La Biche and surrounding communities. Momentum and support grew; there was much discussion of specific and generalized grievances.

On January 17th, about two hundred and fifty Metis occupied the Alberta NewStart dormitory facilities, demanding the school be reopened. The demonstrators quickly elected ten people as spokesmen for the group, then proceeded to draft a petition (see appendix D). The Metis Association sent a telegram of support to Prime Minister Trudeau, and Paul Yewchuck, M.P. for Lac La Biche flew home to take the people's petition to Ottawa (see appendix E).

The atmosphere at the demonstration was emotionally charged and there was a seriousness - almost a grimness - in the determination of the people.⁶ The Metis leaders were strong. They had to be; they were fighting for their future. As in any similar situation, there was a core of

6. The writer can personally attest to this, as she visited Lac La Biche on January 21, 1970. Although no white people were to be admitted to the dorms (there were men guarding the doors) she was allowed to enter. She talked that evening formally with the Metis leaders, and informally with some of the people staying in the dorms.

deeply committed to the goals of the petition, there were those who supported the movement to a degree, and there were some fence-sitters. Naturally there was opposition - from the Metis Association - the least expected source. Their objection was that "a white man had brain-washed all the people into demonstrating." This was an example of the apparent respect the Metis Association had for B. Baich - to brain-wash or coerce over two hundred people into a co-ordinated program would indeed be a feat. There was an embarrassing scene at the Alberta NewStart dormitories in which the demonstrators told the Metis Association delegates that there was no brain-washing going on here, and the Metis people were "doing it themselves".

The Town Council and people of Lac La Biche decided to support the Sit-In - a decision both economic and political. Although perhaps some bigots still wished for gas shower-heads in the dorms, most Lac La Biche residents were sympathetic to the Metis.⁷

Someone in Ottawa had suggested renting the NewStart

7. The method used to eliminate Jewish people in certain concentration camps in World War II was to pack them into a "shower-room". Gas from the showerheads ended their lives.

dormitories to the Metis - "... if they're cold and have no houses, and that would make the sit-in legal." Such naivete was as sad as it was frustrating.

On January 23, 1970, seven days after the sit-in began, Martin O'Connell, Parliamentary Secretary to Jean Marchand, Minister of Regional Economic Expansion arrived in Lac La Biche. Four hundred people packed into the crowded New-Start facilities. The news O'Connell brought was that there was a chance that Ottawa would provide funds to reopen the Centre, and anyway, education is the responsibility of the province. This statement was merely an evasive tactic, for NewStart had been financed by the federal government as a research project. The province represented by Robert Clarke, Minister of Education, naturally refused to accept responsibility.

The evasion, the refusal of the federal government to accept the Metis demonstrators as legitimate constituency naturally led to escalation. Members of the Slave Lake project and Company of Young Canadians came to Lac La Biche to express sympathy. The people began to prepare their strategy of what they would do if the federal or provincial governments did not make an attempt to meet their demands. There was talk of sending a committee to Ottawa to negotiate,

and also talk of a starve-in at the provincial legislature. On one count, sixty people volunteered (almost a certainty that they were volunteering for a jail sentence) but it didn't seem to bother them. "We spend so much time in jail for other things, we might as well go there to better our opportunities" one Metis said.

After the visit from Ottawa, arrangements were made to fly six people to Ottawa to bargain with the government. The federal government generously offered to pay the expenses of six people. In meetings, the Metis people chose ten, then narrowed it to six representatives. Just as the people were preparing to leave, staff in Ottawa telephoned to say that only three people could go. The demonstrators were thrown into uproar. B. Baich stepped in quickly and told the people that he would choose the people who were to go to Ottawa. This directive action kept the people who were sitting in from venting their frustration inward. Baich chose the man who had been senior spokesman for the demonstration, an articulate grandmother concerned about the future of her grandchildren, and a young man who was unemployed and undereducated.

The preparation of the delegates must have been thorough. For when they returned, they brought with them a

promise of a \$160,000 grant, and the centre reopening as of April 1, 1970, to be run by the Metis people.

The Metis people called their organization the Alberta Pe-Ta-Pun Development Inc. Pe-Ta-Pun means "coming of the dawn". For those people, it was indeed perceived as the beginning of a new day.

The sit-in, besides the success in terms of the people getting what they wanted, helped destroy some myths.

1. It showed not all Metis were "content" with their lot.
2. It showed that the agitation was from within the local Metis community
3. It showed that there are polite, intelligent, well-dressed Metis.
4. Metis people are brave, dedicated, and committed enough to conduct the demonstrations and related protest activities.

Against such an effort, new rationalizations were invented which sought to weaken the effect of the sit-in.

Some whites said that the sit-ins were the acts of a white man or a particular segment of the Metis population, that is, one not truly representative of the total community.

In Lac La Biche - Kikino areas, because of the many geographical and social separations, this assertion was apparently true for never was the whole population committed to the goals of the demonstrators. Some Metis whose needs were not

satisfied took this position. For example, one sub-group wanted to form a fish co-operative. When their need was not included on the list or priority issues, they withdrew and openly opposed the sit-in.

The demonstration had a large psychological impact on demonstrators who were saying "it works" in a manner half-surprised and half-congratulatory. A new sense of pride and power emerged.

The psychological effect on whites was also great. Some hardened in their prejudices. They felt natives had no right to ask for more than welfare. Some white people seemed more ready for candid talk and communication. A few were filled with admiration.⁸

RECRUITING AND FOLLOW-UP

The recruiting and follow-up of Alberta NewStart trainees were NewStart functions the team assumed. No one else was willing to do this, and it was actually easier for the native men than it would have been for whites. In some ways it was helpful for the team. It did much to legitimize

8. For a discussion of Sit-In Movements, see Arnold M. Rose and Caroline B. Rose, Minority Problems, New York: Harper and Rowe, Publishers, 1965, p.402.

their function in the eyes of white staff, and gave them a chance to produce something tangible - a number of students as required by the Centre Supervisor to fill the seats of the training centre. The recruiting, as with many of the projects, was not of prime importance. Bayard Rustin, speaking of working with Negroes in New York explains how minor projects can fit into the total development picture:

... I do not believe Negroes in Harlem cleaning up the streets, making vest pocket parks, getting rid of rats and roaches are important. They are certainly at the moment relevant to them. To be without a few more roaches and rats is important. Therefore, I work with many people who are dealing with these day-to-day immediately relevant problems. But only where, while working with them, I can use the situation and its limitations to educate them to the more profound needs for basic social change ... I think the true strategist attempts to sell ultimate ideals which are relevant and necessary while working through that which is now feasible as an educational method. I don't think people can listen to you if you're not saying something they understand.⁹

The important thing was that the recruiting was coupled with community development work. The actual process of getting Metis people into an educational institution was important, but letting them see the possibilities for change was of greater moment.

9. James Finn, Pacifism and Politics, New York: Random House, 1967, p.336.

In one week in which the counsellors analyzed the time they spent on each task, it was found that about equal amounts of time were spent on the community development function and the recruiting - follow-up function.¹⁰ The counsellors saw follow-up as being more important than recruiting - it is important to know why the young person drops out - but they actually spent three times as much time recruiting as doing follow-up work. This was probably because of the demand for new students at that particular time.

Recruiting involved travelling into various communities, visiting homes, talking to people as they worked, even picking up hitch-hikers and telling them about the Alberta NewStart program. The adult education process was at work.

Follow-up required a great deal of sensitivity. Sometimes it meant going down the road after a young man who had given up in disgust at the stupidity or arrogance of whites. Sometimes it meant driving out into the backwoods to find a girl who had a family problem and could not return because of her responsibilities there. Occasionally, it meant following the progress of young people to employment. Two team

10. From official NewStart data, April 1969.

members, George Huppie and Harrison Cardinal worked with the Personnel Office doing placement work with employment agencies and companies in Edmonton, Calgary and northern Alberta centres.

The recruiting and follow-up of students, largely native, gave the men community contacts and also increased their frequency of contact with employing agencies. While this was happening, men were talking of the broader change possibilities. It was one more part of a broad spectrum of team work.

CHAPTER 8

AN ASSESSMENT OF THE TEAM'S IMPACT

In preceeding chapters the team, the pre-service training, the team's entrance to communities, and the team's work have been discussed. In this chapter, the writer first looks at some of the things that have happened within the team, in its year of existence. Individual members have developed special skills and leadership has changed. There have been additions and deletions in the team. The team as a whole has embarked upon some ventures which they feel jeopardized their future. In the second section of this chapter the effect the team has had upon the organization in which it existed is explored. The third section deals with the team's effect in various communities. In the final section of the chapter some of the political outcomes are explored.

THE TEAM ONE YEAR AFTER FORMATION

The Men

It was observed by the writer that the group of Community Counsellors appeared freer, more confident and capable, more articulate and very much aware of happenings.

Goodenough says there are five factors the change agent must possess. They are:

1. technical skill
2. belief in the mission
3. cultural empathy
4. a sense of politics
5. organizational ability¹

The men had begun their job high on the second and third factors. The pre-service training increased the sense of politics, and experience in the field led to technical skill and organizational ability.

There was a definite increase in autonomy among the men: they were able to plan their own work schedules and move in and out of the office where other team members were working or sharing data. They were planning travel to other communities, and making arrangements with ease.

During the Lac La Biche sit-in, the counsellors had interposed between the native sit-in participants and Alberta NewStart staff. In doing so, they felt they were exposing themselves to the possibility of being fired. The dilemma for a community development worker is always which will come first - service to human beings or loyalty to

1. Ward Hunt Goodenough, Cooperation in Change, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1963, p.377.

employing agency? The Counsellors decided that it was more important to be with the people. Joe Cardinal writes eloquently:

I was hired by Alberta NewStart as a Counsellor, and I would be safe to say that I and my fellow counsellors have done what was required of us. (Some) say we are to blame for the outcomes of this demonstration... (I feel) that I should be involved in this ordeal. I feel I should not be limited in aiding my own people when they are in need of every available man in their struggle and fight for a just cause.²

Not all NewStart personnel agreed, but fortunately, the Executive Director did. The counsellors were with the people in the dorms during the demonstration. They were able to clarify NewStart's position to the participants and the problems of the Sit-In group to NewStart personnel.

Largely because of this, communication between the two groups never came to a standstill and the Sit-In people were never moved to undisciplined violence as has occurred elsewhere. It actually became possible for the Sit-In people to utilize resource people from the NewStart staff, rather than viewing them totally as adversaries. Probably at this time, more clearly than at any other, the counsellors felt their value both to the community people and to NewStart, and received respect from both sides for the part they could play.³

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2. Joe Cardinal, "Report on the Sit-In", unpublished memo to Research Department, Alberta NewStart, Inc. Jan. 1970.
 3. B. Baich and the Community Counsellors, "Annual Report: Community Counselling, June 1969-70."

The team was an expanding, assimilative group. In August, 1969 after the three month probationary period, one of the original team members was offered a transfer to another job in Albert NewStart. Although he was a young man full of zest, it was being misused in the community. The proposed transfer was discussed among the men, in private. No one was willing to work with that team member. There was much agonizing among the team. The team member who had been asked to leave community counselling went to the Metis Association, charging discrimination. One counsellor later said, "It scared the hell out of us, but I knew what was happening. We were to be the victims of the Metis Association."

The situation resolved itself in a strange way. The Metis Association sent three members to Lac La Biche. One came to the Team and asked what had happened; the other two presumably contracted the community. By chance, the writer was left to talk with the Metis Association representative over lunch. She was thoroughly questioned then, and again, after supper that day by all three representatives. She told them honestly her perceptions of the situation.

As far as she knows, that was all that ever happened.⁴

Under pressure, Marshall Howse was probably the most level-headed of the Counsellors. Joe Cardinal appeared to have changed the most in the period of a year. The change, the team leader thought, was due to experiences in Janvier that had profoundly changed Joe's perception of the world.

The effect of NewStart's phase-out on the men is at this time only a guess. Several men have already been offered other jobs. It is probable there is no 'terminal date' as far as the men's personal lives and the changes that are occurring there, or as far as their interest in Community Counselling is concerned.

Leadership by B. Baich

Ben Baich was the leader of the group, both formally and informally. He was what Jennings calls a 'dynamic, aggressive, heroic 'leader', directive but seldom authoritarian.⁵ He had a capacity to set off a force which would

4. An interesting footnote to this experience was that all three representatives were working for Alberta NewStart within four months.

5. Eugene Jennings, An Anatomy of Leadership, New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, p.170.

energize the team to move toward a goal. That force was also effective in the community - he could rouse people to make some attempt to improve their lives. A number of factors made him a good leader in the Team's eyes. The dignity of the individual was to Baich, to be highly respected - it was not only a belief, but something he lived by. Baich was able to allow people to make their own choices, but he made them accept responsibility for the consequences of those choices. He managed his own life discreetly. His ability in the field was proven time and time again, by empathic contacts with people of all races and nationalities, by speaking engagements, by special requests by natives for his return, and by his ability to organize groups.

A heroic, dynamic, aggressive leader, when leading a group of men who have been effectively welded into a team has a group of exceptional strength. Baich's leadership of such a group was disciplined, strong, but without any lust for power. The kind of leadership he gave encouraged individual growth: he constantly challenged the team to better things. He emphasized mutual support, and integration with other departments, insisting that the team function as part of NewStart. "Our group must function as a team.

If we work as a team, we can have a unified approach and much strength. We will face many outside forces which will be against what we are trying to do."⁶

Baich's attitude about a situation was always optimistic. People who worked with him liked the positiveness, and drew strength from his hope for better things. Baich would tell the team, "Be positive. Never have a failure. Set-backs are just an experience. Remember to use your own personality, whatever you do."

In private, the optimism was replaced by analysis and calculation of what might happen. Like a mathematician, B. Baich explored all the possibilities and probabilities of a situation, then decided on the most likely event and strategized accordingly.

In June, B. Baich left Alberta NewStart to move to the brother organization, Manitoba NewStart. William Bull became Director of Community Counselling.

Leadership by William Bull

I viewed Leadership differently than Ben. When Ben and Jim Whitford worked together in Community Development Branch, Ben was the 'rabble-rouser,' and Jim was the diplomat. I know that Ben goes out and

6. B. Baich, from a speech during pre-Service Training Session at Lac La Biche, in June 1969.

fight full force, so I thought as Assistant Director of Community Counselling I would be on the sidelines and play the diplomat role. Now I am Director, I guess I'll have to be the bad guy too sometimes.⁷

William Bull had taken over from B. Baich as Director of Community Counselling a month before. He thought he was leading in a less directive way than Baich, but was involving the team in planning strategies and group process all the time. W. Bull already knew the strengths of the men: Marshall Howse is strong in a fight and patient in a community and therefore a good counsellor. George Huppie gets things done. Robert Boucher is a good strategist. Joe Cardinal is an expert on Treaty Indians and their rights (Crees) while Cyril Muskego is good with Chipewyans.

Community development is always a fight for survival, and the leadership role is always a temptation. I like best the community developer who remains invisible, and who lets the people move ahead without taking any credit. I would like to broaden our community development work here.⁸

Joe Cardinal's perception of Bull's new role as Director of Community Counselling is excellent. He says "William will have to be on top of everything. If he isn't, things

7. From two interviews with William Bull, June 25 and 30, 1970.

8. From two interviews with William Bull, June 25 and 30, 1970.

may slide. Marshall may assume a more aggressive role (to compensate for Ben)."9

However the leadership turns out, already there are a number of important consequences:

- (a) a native man is leading a group of natives in a community development project.
- (b) a native man is now on Alberta NewStart Core Staff.
- (c) William has not had to abrogate his principles to do it.

Summary

It appears after one year, that team members have become more self-sufficient, more committed to the people they seek to serve, and have developed individual areas of competence. Ben Baich and William Bull have led the team with different types of leadership which have undoubtedly affected the effectiveness of the team. In the following section, the effect of the team in the NewStart Corporation is explored.

9. Joe Cardinal - an interview on June 30, 1970.

OUTCOMES IN ALBERTA NEWSTART AFTER ONE YEAR

Social psychology discusses a number of ways in which attitudes can be changed. The staff of Alberta NewStart underwent great attitudinal changes as a result of the Community Counselling Team as did the organization and the ways it operated. Through group dynamics, applied research and core staff meetings, great changes occurred. The following is an analysis of the situation in ANS.

Changing Attitudes - The autistic - hostility hypothesis suggests that members of one group who develop hostilities toward a second group may cut off communication. The other group will not likely initiate contacts with the hostile group. The hostile perceptions of the first group are thus insulated against change.¹⁰

Festinger hypothesizes that an action program that stimulates contacts between the two groups under favorable conditions would act to break down their hostile attitudes to each other.¹¹

10. T. Newcomb as quoted by Leon Festinger and Harold Kelley, Changing Attitudes Through Social Contact, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1951, p.1.

11. *ibid.*, p.72.

In Alberta NewStart, a hostile-isolation syndrome developed because white personnel generally had a priori unfavorable expectations concerning natives. Status differences between the two groups intensified hostility both between and within the groups. The Community Counselling Team with seven native men and one white man provided an interesting example of the way attitudes can be changed through social contact.

In Alberta, Indians and Metis unfortunately have lower status than the dominant majority "Canadian" group. The native person quickly becomes aware of limitations involved in his present group membership, and desires to escape these limitations. However, because of loyalty and the attractions of native status, the person finds it very difficult to move out of his group.

In the process, the native may take on some of the values of the whites in an attempt to escape the stigma of low esteem. Frustrations develop, and the person becomes hostile toward his group. The native may attempt to "pass" into white society, or he may try to improve his subgroup so that whites drop their negative evaluation of it. Occasionally, natives organize to gain privileges and equality of treatment from the whites. Success depends on the

white's willingness to give up prerogatives. The venture usually fails, and the native person may become frustrated and full of hostility.

Changing Hostile Social Attitudes - Hostile attitudes are persistent. They are maintained because of the individual's need to feel superior, because of observable events, and because of the beliefs and attitudes of other people.

Two theories of attitude change are the perceptual control and social control theory.¹² The perceptual control theory suggests that attitudes predate knowledge, that is, the person tends to perceive things that are comfortable for him to see. To change his attitude then, one must change the kinds of information input the person receives. One forces people to experience facts contrary to their attitudes. The difficulty is that people often still distort the evidence in terms of their prior orientation.

The social control theory requires that one person be brought into contact with evaluations or attitudes that differ from his own. This technique of producing change includes not only exposure to new social attitudes, but also removal of existing supports. Increased contacts with

12. *ibid.*, p.8.

groups expressing different attitudes are needed.

The first theory is usually effective only when used in connection with the second.

The NewStart Situation - In Alberta NewStart, as a result of the formation of the Community Counselling Team, there were increased contacts between the minority and majority groups. Some of these had interesting implications for the two theories of attitude change. The NewStart situation was as follows:

1. Native men worked in the same Head Office with core and secretarial staff.
2. Native men and their families lived in NewStart homes on the same street as many white NewStart staff.
3. At work, there was contact between the team and staff concerning the goals and maintenance of NewStart.
4. There was social contact at coffee breaks.
5. The team followed a planned strategy of inviting a different staff person to coffee every day.
6. Although initially native people were not "invited" to the staff parties, at the end of one year they were attending and inter-mingling with complete freedom. This was the result of a series of planned "social evenings" which brought equal numbers of whites and natives together in an attempt to facilitate communications.

7. Native men and their families participated in community recreational activities with white staff and families. e.g. baseball.
8. White staff met many resource people who seemed tacitly to be saying "These guys are okay". As the team became known and white influentials began to give credit to the work, staff seemed to comprehend that the natives were trying to do the same things they were.
9. The Executive Director was always positive toward team development and toward native men working in NewStart. His insistence that the men work on their own terms and not be hired merely to legitimize what whites were doing was of major importance. The Program Director was also flexible and encouraged innovative ideas. The Research Director was pro-team. Certain members of the teaching and secretarial staff supported the team. These people provided a valuable reference group to which many other staff related.
10. The two white members of the team, the Director and the writer may have influenced staff by our attitudes.
11. The team, well-dressed, articulate, and knowledgeable about the community were assets to the corporation.

Resulting Attitude Changes - Several core staff underwent tremendous changes. Men who seemed to be merely acting on the basis of their experience and perceptions of natives, they were able to adjust rapidly to new evaluations and perceptions.

Some staff adjusted to the team on the basis of a power relationship, that is, they saw the team would have

power and influence, and aligned themselves with the group for that reason alone.

Some staff adjusted because of common interest in community activities.

Information-giving about natives was usually not an effective method of changing attitudes. The probable reason for this is that information may change the cognitive perception of the world, but it can not change evaluations of it or emotional feelings about it.

Most people took Indians at face value. They saw drunks outside the beer parlor and in Moccasin Flats, the town slum, just outside Lac La Biche. They knew Indians and Metis were the greatest recipients of welfare in the area. They thought Indians didn't pay income tax and that they hunted freely. Not understanding the systems in which poor people are trapped, there was a tendency for whites to generalize from these specifics to all natives.

When whites in the helping organization came into contact with native people, they genuinely did not know how to act. They knew they were supposed to be helping native people. That created a mental distinction between the helper and the helped. Prevalent social work philosophy stresses the need for objectivity and non-involvement with the client.

Recognizing that many natives had different life-styles, the whites could not find much in common with the natives.

Changing the Organization - The staff in Alberta NewStart tried to generate new ideas. The NewStart program encouraged this, for one of the statements in the project proposal states that people should have freedom to try out new ideas.

Although the writer never heard it called group dynamics formally, much of the work the team did could rest comfortably under that title, because it was conducted so naturally that the team were largely unaware of it.

The group process involved examining data generated by themselves, and attempting to understand the dynamics of group behavior. For example, the group talked about decision processes, leadership, and influence processes, communication distortion and coping mechanisms. They enlarged from the team to include other staff. Vince Burke of the Personnel Department was a frequent participant as were numerous others. In formal parlance, meetings with individuals of similar organizational ranks, but from different groups, are called "cousin labs." The team conducted cousin labs with men from the Indian Association

and Metis Association. Field workers would drop in to say "Hello" and become involved in discussions. The team tried to involve dorm counsellors, centre supervisors, teachers and university students as well as family groups.

These efforts (a) increased people's understanding of NewStart, (b) helped the team determine what their function could be, (c) meant tremendous inputs of ideas and energy to the organization and (d) provided a kind of cross-fertilization of ideas within the organization.

Besides this training, the men consulted with various sections of NewStart. Their function was to articulate problems so that many causal and underlying mechanisms could be understood.

Applied Research - In the social sciences that have been oriented toward statistical survey data, there is now an increasing demand for case studies, in-depth studies, and raw data.

The team of men hoped to affect the organization by providing data from the communities. For professionals, highly trained in the methods of reporting, this is a simple task. But for men of little formal education, the task of writing is monumental. This difficulty was circumvented by the use of tape recorders, and by the patience of the

secretarial and research staff in transcribing and sifting the materials. Team members were originally required to submit reports of each day's activities. At first they were scrambled and difficult to understand. It was apparent that the men were having difficulty in deciding what was important, and knowing what information to provide to make it intelligible to the Research staff. As time passed, the reports improved, but the team remained weak on paper tests conducted by the Research Department and providing written data.

Core Staff Meetings - Three methods employed to change the organization were group-process, consultation, and research as intervention. The fourth input was in the area of core staff meetings which were gatherings of Directors from each section to decide on NewStart policy and procedure.

The Director of Community Counselling, Ben Baich, was the usual member who attended. William Bull, Assistant Director, also attended. At times when these two were away, a team member would attend instead. The pressure to represent the team's views was always exceedingly strong. Expectations were very high, and the member was forced to be effective. Not only was this excellent training for the individual, it also, provided fresh inputs at core staff meetings.

The writer saw tremendous organizational change because of the team's presence, and she thought the people in Alberta NewStart were generally very adaptive. The change in attitudes is even more dramatic when one goes back to NewStart after an absence. Because people generally do not like to admit how prejudiced they were at one time, the writer suspects many staff would deny their change of attitude.

Personally, on her first contact with the team, the writer recalls her surprise that the men were well-dressed. She had to change many of her attitudes because of her contact with the team: George Huppie, an astute business man; Marshall Howse, a tough fighter, but also very philosophical; Robert Boucher with the sharpest wit she'd encountered; Joe Cardinal, always a gentleman; William Bull, a just and honorable man; and Cyril Muskego, with whom there was an immediate emotional bond - he reminded the writer of her father.

Like many of the other office staff, the author initially had difficulty seeing the men as anything other than welfare recipients. Because of close contact, that attitude soon vanished, unable to maintain itself among contrary evidence. For people not intimately connected with the

team, it took much longer for that attitude to be replaced.

The theories of attitude change maintain that when a person works with people about whom he has negative attitudes, on a common project, the negative attitudes disappear.¹³ Such as the case with the team and writer.

Possibly this was also the case for many of the white NewStart staff.

The team's knowledge of community was so much greater than the writer's that she could not maintain attitudes of superiority. Repeatedly she was put into situations where incorrect notions had to be revised. Whatever doubts the writer had about the men as Indians vanished. They were men.

OUTCOMES IN THE COMMUNITY

To assess the outcomes of the Community Counselling Team's participation in the community is a difficult task. Concrete measurable results cannot easily be obtained, and people involved in community development are loath to see their achievements as this detracts from the people they work with. Alberta NewStart was not a community development

13. Leon Festinger and Harold Kelley, *ibid.*, p.51.

focused agency - the lack of understanding of the processes the team was using understandably caused some hostilities among the staff and among local potentates who felt their power threatened. Further, as an emerging profession, there has been little agreement on the correct definition of community development. The team used Freeman Compton's definition: "Community development is the meaningful participation of people in their own lives," but many would prefer other descriptions.

The basic purpose of the Community Counselling Team's community development function was to encourage changes in Indian-Metis people, Alberta NewStart staff, and the white population. The hope was that destructive and largely-mythical attitudes could be overcome.

To try to determine the success of the Community Counselling Team in the community is difficult. It depends to whom one talks.

At the administrative level in Alberta NewStart, there was a variety of opinion, as there was in the community. Some thought the team had caused too much embarrassment to the parliamentarians, some thought community development had failed because NewStart staff did not all accept the principle that Indians and Metis could handle their own

lives, and some thought because the average white citizen seemed not to have changed his attitudes much that somehow community development and the Team had failed.¹⁴ People who felt that way seemed to have missed the subtle changes that had occurred at the grass-roots level. The real measure of success would be reflected in what the people of the various communities thought of the Team's efforts. As recipients of the 'techniques' and principles, they would be best able to assess the process.

Opposition to the Team's work was not infrequent. It seemed to be founded in political expediency. The opposition usually came from a group who had much to gain from criticizing Alberta NewStart or the team either for publicity or economic reasons. These apparently different sources of opposition were usually people closely connected with the Metis Association. The Metis people were quick to respond to this. In an open letter to the leaders of the Metis Association, responding to a letter by the vice-president, a well-thought-of Metis writes:

14. Detractors often say that when the community is "ready" for a change, progress would occur without the presence of a change agent.

Your condemnation of the Pe-Ta-Pun Board who are all members of the Metis Association (and) with whom I have personal acquaintance is most regrettable ... At this stage of emergence from obscurity to a place where the people have learned to do things their own way, you condemn their action, simply because your Metis Association had no part in their achievement. Yet why does it matter, if the people concerned progress enough to carry out programs never dreamt about by the head office executive ...?

Despite all the opposition and skepticism, the Metis people have a new sense of purpose and strength. They are not afraid.

William Bull, who was in an excellent position to assess the effectiveness of the Team, told the writer he thought the team had failed to meet its objectives in Janvier and Fort McMurray, but had succeeded in Lac La Biche and Kikino.

Outcomes in Janvier¹⁵

Janvier never recovered from the suggestion that people consider relocating because there is no economic base, and it is inaccessible to secondary and tertiary industries which develop raw goods. Knowing how unpopular the suggestion has been elsewhere, it is surprising that it was

15. The writer's informant for the Janvier material was Joe Cardinal, who worked there with Cyril Muskego in the winter of 1969-70.

even broached. David Janvier, chief, was out of the community, and he interpreted the suggestion as an attempt to take over the community. One of the white store-keepers in the community, who was opposed to NewStart and who had much to lose if Indians and Metis became strong, told the natives that this was just another plot of the government to take away their land.

While the team did not have any glowing successes in Janvier, their work was not a complete failure. Many of the things that happened were of the same order as Negroes cleaning out rats and roaches, but an education process was started. If social development, like economic development, occurs in stages, perhaps it would be fair to say that Janvier has not yet reached the take-off point, but is nearer.

In Janvier, involvement of the people increased. The team owed much to Mike Woodward, Centre Supervisor, who was active and supportive of the team. A 'shadow system' was initiated in which a native person worked with a person teaching or running the Centre. This experiment lasted one week, but it was intended to indicate both to Janvier residents and NewStart personnel the possibility of the people of Janvier eventually running the Centre for themselves. It is a slow process to train people to run the

Centre, but already two Janvier people are on the staff.

There was a petition made by the community for a communications tower. There was a great deal of concern as two infants had died because medical aid could not be summoned.

A canteen was set up in the Band Hall, and there was talk of starting a cooperative store with the money earned from the canteen. The hall also functioned as recreation centre for the community.

While these changes are minor, they are still relevant in a community which two years ago had never met together over a common problem.

Outcomes in Fort McMurray

In Fort McMurray, the major positive effect of the team was increased and improved communication between native and white populations. The timing for working in Fort McMurray was incorrect. Marshall Howse explains it thus:

It was the wrong time of the year. The men were fighting forest fire - and remember, there is no choice, you have to fight forest fires. Many of the people had gone to Lethbridge to work in the sugar beet fields. Working provides spending money, and you have a change of scene, and meet new people. Indians are still Indians there. Indians do things in certain seasons. It will be time to work in Fort McMurray in the fall.

The team assumed a mediation role between native students and the Alberta Vocational Centre, but was unable to bring the two much closer together. The team, feeling that A.V.C. staff were not listening to the natives and not trying to, threatened to organize the new students to boycott the school. But the white staff did not listen. Actually, the team was saved the effort, for when the new session began, only nineteen of the expected sixty-four students enrolled. Since the recruiting of the new students had been done by team members, the responsibility fell on their shoulders. "No one asked us how to run this recruitment," said one counsellor. "Next time we want to say how to run it. We'd like to approach community leaders from the different areas and get them to select students. They know the people in the community. Anyway, there would be social support and social pressures on the student to succeed".

Outcomes in Lac La Biche

In Lac La Biche, since Ben had come, the people had been waiting for a demonstration, wondering when it would come. They knew Ben was a doer, hard to control, an active man, so they knew there would be a demonstration. They thought I could control Ben, and they thought I was 'too nice to make a demonstration'. But they don't understand that the proper channels don't work for the native. We've been tripped up on the One-yard line too many times. We did lots of work

in Lac La Biche, and we talked to the counsellors. Ben and I knew we had to have their support. Indirectly, they played a big part. Ben was waiting for a particular incident - a worthwhile cause that would unite the total community. The NewStart Sit-In did that.¹⁶

In Lac La Biche, Pe-Ta-Pun Development has taken over the NewStart dormitories and Centre. They have a manager and a board. Guest lecturers come from all over the province to speak at Pe-Ta-Pun. One counsellor remarked, "Part of Pe-Ta-Pun's development has been to say 'Pe-Ta-Pun did more in six months than Alberta NewStart did in two years'.", but the fledgling organization suffers because it lacks tangible evidence that it is doing something.

Outcomes in Kikino Colony

Kikino appears to be on the verge of a "taking off" point. At the time of this writing, the colony is still split into five factions; but the importance of solidarity is becoming clear to the people. Councillors on the board that 'governs' Kikino are badly split among themselves.

Kikino formerly had few organizations, but now the people are beginning to organize. The Cattleman's Association is a strong force in the community, and an ARDA brush-

16. The quote is from an interview with William Bull, then Director of Community Counselling on June 30, 1970.

clearing project has been begun, providing jobs - although largely to one faction.

A number of Kikinites were involved in the development of Pe-Ta-Pun, but some of the people remaining in the colony are anxious to fund their own adult education program on their own terms. They know they must have a plan for development first. They know, too, that they cannot bargain while factions remain in the community. The legitimate channels must be explored, and there must be contact with resource people. It is here that the role of the Community Counselling team will lie in the future. Whatever happens, the group at Kikino are strong from past encounters, and ready for action.

POLITICAL OUTCOMES

The Termination of Baich

The Metis Sit-In at the Alberta NewStart dormitories in the winter of 1970 was the result of a number of forces. Although Baich professed it was not his doing, and although he was very much in the background, the executive of the Metis Association and certain provincial cabinet officials

were convinced that this was another Baich uprising.¹⁷

They were, of course, in a sense correct, but it was a tactical error for the Metis Association to take this position, for the excellent publicity for the Metis people was destroyed. The provincial government acted largely on suspicion. One minister was reported to have said, "It was strange that the revolutions always occurred where Baich was."

The Metis people of Lac La Biche won, and settled back into the community to begin developing themselves. The press shifted its emphasis elsewhere, and people forgot Lac La Biche.

In the spring of 1970, when ANS was expected to last only one more year, the men began to look for jobs elsewhere. Baich was advised by a senior HRDA official that there was

17. There had been five demonstrations in which Baich had been involved. They were the Grand Rapids demonstration when 143 Indians, Metis and Whites held up clearing of land for a hydro project because of bad working conditions; the Thompson demonstration in 1962 against International Nickel Company of Canada's hiring practices; the Hay Lakes march on February 22, 1964 when one hundred and eleven men marched on the provincial legislature to bring their living conditions to the attention of the authorities; the Wabasca demonstration when timber, the only resource of the area was being put on bid; and a native women's march to the legislature in the spring of 1968.

a job requiring his skills, so he wrote a letter to the Human Resources Development Authority asking what job opportunities were available. He received a letter in reply stating that his application had been received and that interviews could take place in three weeks. Instead of an interview, Gordon Armstrong, Director of Community Development and diplomat of the HRDA office was sent to Lac La Biche. There he told Baich that the cabinet had vetoed his application and that the government did not want him working any longer in the province. The latter statement is probably true; the former was refuted by an executive assistant to the Premier's office. What was more probable was that the government had reacted characteristically to an active change agent. No matter how liberal a government may be philosophically, few can respond to the demands of people who take the challenge of participatory democracy seriously. Baich may have been the victim of this inability, or his own personality may have been too threatening: he could cross status lines and talk with equal dignity to politicians or poor. There is nothing people fear more than a fearless man.

The people of Lac La Biche organized a petition requesting that Baich be retained. They went to the Premier

with it, but it was too late for the petition to be acted upon. Already other opportunities had opened new doors to Baich. He moved back to Manitoba.

SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF THE ORGANIZATIONS OF TEAM

Previous chapters have used data that is participant-observation and interview-related and a style that is factual, but at times anecdotal. In Chapter 7, an assessment of the team's impact on team members, Alberta New-Start (corporation) and the community was attempted. In this chapter, using the same trichotomy, the organization of the team is analyzed along ten dimensions, beginning with the anticipation or idea and ending with the feedback.¹

To facilitate understanding and comparison, this material has been prepared in chart form as found in Figure 1.

Kikino was chosen as the community for analysis because the writer had more knowledge of this community and because more team members had worked there. Because Kikino is accessible, information flow was facilitated.

1. The conceptual analysis is adapted from a lecture by A. Matejko at University of Alberta on January 14, 1970.

FIGURE I
SUMMARY ANALYSIS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF TEAM

DIMENSIONS	TEAM	CORPORATION	COMMUNITY (Kikino)
1. Anticipation or idea of action	<p>As conceptualized by B. Baich, it is the formation of a team of men which would intervene in the community as change agents.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - members will not work in the community they consider to be 'home' - members will form a cohesive group - members will be native - they may work in groups, pairs or alone - group morale will be high - there will be a pooling of diversified skills and information 	<p>Alberta NewStart is initiating an Adult Education program to move people into an economically viable life style. The staff does not regard community involvement as important in their development and have limited ideas of community development. There is little involvement of natives in NewStart other than at an assistant level.</p>	<p>The community has a limited idea of what community development is. There is little idea that such a thing as a team can or will happen.</p>

1.	<p>-- members will provide mutual support in their personal lives</p>		
2.	<p>Energy and Information Supply</p> <p>a) What is the supply?</p> <p>b) Is the supply adequate?</p>	<p>Baich, Bull and team members have an energy pool and a desire to use it.</p> <p>Yes - one person or perhaps several act as energizers of the team.</p>	<p>In Alberta NewStart staff has tremendous variety of skills and potentials. They tap University sources, professionals, and literature.</p> <p>Yes.</p> <p>Community members leaders media, grapevines community knowledgeableables</p> <p>All the staff at ANS, community people and intellectuals are resources waiting to be tapped.</p> <p>Yes. The supply is there but is often used in fruitless ways.</p>

<p>2. c) Are there limitations of energy and information because of political loyalties or implications for the stratification of people?</p>	<p>Yes - values and ethics impose restrictions. Democratic process places limitation on work.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Team had no political identification - Political loyalties to bother agencies 	<p>Some - watch how federal and provincial government is reacting.</p>	<p>Yes - the limitations are with regard to sudden rising of expectations of people plus their advancement - community may limit.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - factions absorb a great deal of energy that could be put to work constructively - isolation, tension and disorganization prevent
<p>3. Actors: Age Sex Race Education</p>	<p>late 30's to late 40's males Indian, Metis, Caucasian average education about grade 7</p>	<p>teenagers into sixties males and females mostly white, Metis Indian good educations</p>	<p>all ages both sexes Metis most have elementary education</p>

<p>3. Abilities and Attitudes:</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - wide range of skilled and unskilled jobs - want to do something to improve their lives - commitment to help - change oriented - believe natives can do better - view NewStart as the instrument through which they can work - see team members as emphatic fellow workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - education - orientated - view natives as someone to be helped - teaching 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - desire to maintain their culture - desire progress, but as a group to some degree they are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> isolated alienated disorganized unmotivated - unaware of their potential for development.
<p>4. Tools</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - a decent salary - knowledge of how to approach a community - specific information the team wants to pass to the community - native status - speak the language - knowledge of culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - classrooms - equipment - instructors - books - knowledge of other programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - meetings - home - visiting - talking to people at work - help in learning how to organize meetings - agency contact - native organizations - institutions - a place to meet

<p>5. Ways of Acting</p>	<p>change strategies, i.e. open organizer or invisible community developer</p> <p>social intermingling</p> <p>administrative procedures</p> <p>report writing ...</p>	<p>NewStart can be as innovative as it wishes</p> <p>Bound by ethics, economics and staff abilities</p> <p>Team can function as integrated part, or remain on the periphery.</p>	<p>violent, non-violent</p> <p>pressure groups</p> <p>form committees</p> <p>work through legitimate channels</p> <p>create own solutions</p>
<p>6. Structuralization</p>	<p>There is a formal hierarchy:</p> <p>B. Baich, Director</p> <p>W. Bull, Assistant Director</p> <p>Team Members</p> <p>In practice, the hierarchy is not rigid. The team functions as a group with leaders rather than just boss-employee relationships</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - formal structure - patterns of action and interaction emerge in each department. <p>Counsellors known as group processors; share ideas.</p>	<p>formalized leadership, legitimizes leadership, followers, organizers, activators, doers.</p> <p>There is also structure of religious and political institutions.</p> <p>Status differences influence structure.</p>

<p>7. Steering</p>	<p>B. Baich, Director of Community Counselling</p> <p>W. Bull, Assistant Director of Community Counselling</p> <p>(see appendix)</p>	<p>Jack Shields, Executive Director Centre Supervisors</p>	<p>Initially lacks leadership. Largely a maintenance function - perhaps by whites e.g. Colony Supervisor "guides" colony and counsellors. As community organizes, leaders emerge to direct the process.</p>
<p>8. Goals</p>	<p>1. To protect and maintain, or to assist in developing:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) psychological independence of the individual b) Self-acceptance, acceptance of others and recognition of reality c) problem solving and decision making abilities in individuals and communities d) self-benefitting behavior 	<p>1. Overall objective is to develop and conduct experiential training and related programs appropriate to the area and directed towards the employment of disadvantaged pop.</p> <p>2. To develop and introduce Basic Education and Basic Life Skills training programs for young adults or families.</p>	<p>Self-betterment and improvement of the community and of individuals in the community through increased contact with other areas, newly developed social skills such as knowledge of organizing, motivating and better use of existing resources.</p>

8. Goals

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>2. To actively work towards decreasing self-defeating emotions and habit patterns.</p> | <p>3. To develop and introduce vocational training programs.</p> |
| <p>3. To help the target population acquire motivation and preparation for stable and rewarding goals.</p> | <p>4. To study the feasibility of introducing viable agricultural programs in selected areas.</p> |
| <p>4. To constantly evaluate and feedback to Head Office the impact of Alberta NewStart Inc. programs on developmental processes in the communities.
- to help maintain the sensitivity of ANS staff to people in the community.</p> | <p>5. To obtain facilities, equipment and personnel to conduct these programs.</p> |
| <p>5. To constantly interpret to staff and community people the effects of discrimination ...</p> | |

9. Results			<u>Physical results</u> physical efficiency because of mobile in community and because team members are close by.
a) efficiency	greater efficiency for the organization because of direct contact in communities. Change occurs as the community asks for it, so the company can respond at the most opportune time.	greater efficiency because men able to spend more time producing. Do not need to try to escape realities.	
b) consequences for other branches of life	strong psychologically, better able to keep job. self-respect, feelings of self-worth, less drinking		- increased self-worth - team members are seen as examples of people who are 'making' it.
c) implications for the development of other institutions in the west	HRDA - (Ray Albert) wants to hire the team. G. Armstrong claims L.L.B. is "five years ahead of the Slave Lake Development". - natives can work like "professionals"	has potential to make NewStart known and important in Canada	legitimize use of native men in community, - proved natives not apathetic.

<p>10. Feedback</p>	<p>Varied, largely good, interest in team from other sources</p> <p>Still some opposition within NewStart to the team.</p> <p>Include a native woman and white man or Syrian, Lebanese, French or Ukranian extraction</p> <p>- continue conferences, contacts with agencies and government.</p>	<p>many varied opinion about the usefulness of the team.</p> <p>Alberta NewStart receives positive comment from other agencies about the success of the team.</p> <p>Increase number of general staff meetings to explain policy and proceedings.</p>	<p>Kikino moving very quickly toward self-determination.</p> <p>Much positive regard for the team from the community.</p> <p>Team frequently consulted.</p>
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CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION

In the previous chapter, a summary of results in tabular form was presented. It is the writer's purpose in this chapter to discuss the extent to which the objectives were reached.

Realization of Objectives

The team was developed in the hope that it would facilitate the personal survival of the workers, lead to more effective community development, increase the social awareness and political involvement, and improve minority-majority race relations.

A number of factors contributed greatly to the team's success. They were the mutual support and sense of "belonging" which developed among the men, the orientation and training, the use of resource people in the area, the attention to detail when entering communities, and the commitment to develop people, rather than structures. High expectations for the performance of the men was a distinguishing feature of the team's success.

The first objective, to facilitate the personal growth of team members, was achieved. Individual team members,

company executives and resource people agree that team members underwent a positive learning experience. The second objective, to create a team to improve the effectiveness of community development, was partly met. Because workers are relieved of many personal pressures, they operate more successfully.

Increased social awareness and political involvement of the team and the communities in which they worked was a third objective. This, too, was met with degrees of success. Some communities benefited more than others. All team members state that the change in their perception of themselves, their communities and their province is dramatic. It was hoped that the Indian-white race problem could be eased. It is impossible to claim success in meeting this objective. It appears that both Indians and Metis and whites are aware that the problem exists and that solutions are possible. Many stereotyped attitudes have been radically altered. The team appears to have been quite a successful experiment.

Recommendations for Improvement

To improve the team, and to broaden the range of people it could reach, a native woman and a white man of Syrian, Lebanese, French or Ukranian extraction should be included.

Less time should be spent on the recruiting and follow-up function, and it should be spread over a longer period of time, rather than the one to two week period it usually fills. Conferences, field trips and outside contacts should be continued.

Timing of entrances to communities and initiation of projects could be improved, although this is largely a function of experience. The team may have had difficulty that could have been removed if more work had been done within Alberta NewStart to remove the obstacles which, in the beginning, impaired efficiency. General staff meetings and explanations of policy and procedure could have been helpful.

New Areas of Research

Research on the different kinds of leadership and their affect, the affect of non-professional workers, the impact of natives working with natives would be useful. Other researchers might wish to investigate the problems associated with moving in and out of communities, or the impressions and attitudes that a team of men create.

Scope of this Thesis

The scope of this thesis is limited. Written from the point of view of an insider, it strains for, but does not

always maintain objectivity. It is the writer's hope that the perceptions are of sufficient value to out-weigh any deficiencies.

The team concept is now being applied in two special projects in Northern Manitoba. The implications for development of people through community adult education, counselling and economic development are broad and far-reaching.

Personal Observations

The team concept as applied in Alberta NewStart was a microprocess of human development. In the final analysis, the team existed for the workers, to give them strengths and resources in their work. That the team positively affected the NewStart Corporation and the communities was a most desirable side effect.

The fact that a Community Counselling Team existed had a profound effect on the team involved and upon their seventy-four dependents. Of the ten men on the team, only one man could not be retained. The personal survival rate of ninety percent was much higher than native people ordinarily expect.

The community development section is considered by some people in Alberta NewStart outside the Team to have

been one of the most important developments in the organizations. It would be interesting to see what could happen if seven men worked in one community over a period of time.

To the writer, the team appears to have been an exciting innovation in human development.

APPENDICES

Appendix of Informants

F. Belyea
R. Acorn
P. Sheeon

APPENDIX A

DEFINITIONS

- team - a number of persons associated in some joint action or cooperative effort.
- Metis - a person of mixed white and Indian blood having not less than one-quarter Indian blood, but does not include either an Indian or a non-treaty Indian as defined in the Indian Act of Canada.¹
- "invisible people" - people who are hidden from the view of the majority of the Canadian population by factors such as isolation, alienation and non-participation.
- Foundation of life - all the inputs that go into a child's development that make it possible for him to have alternatives in life.
- Registered Indians - all persons descended in the male line from a paternal ancestor of Indian identity, who have chosen to remain under Indian legislation.

1. Metis Betterment Act, R.S.A. 1942. c329, section 1, Provincial Government of Alberta.

APPENDIX B

STATISTICS FOR LAC LA BICHE AND AREA

Lac La Biche lies in Improvement District No. 102 in the north-eastern section of the province. In the period 1956-61, the population of I.D. 102 dropped by 6%. Lac La Biche like other growing urban centres grew by 36%. The outmigration occurred predominantly among adults who had completed high school. Sixty-eight per cent of the population five years and over were attending school as compared to the provincial average of 73%. Of those not attending school, 63.2% had elementary education or less - the average for Alberta was 43%. The ethnic group with the lowest attained education level is Indian.

The death rate is higher than for Alberta since the proportion of the population over sixty-five is smaller, these high death rates must be attributed to infants.* We become immune to many statistics. Graveyards filled with some crosses telling of infant deaths may bring us to the sharp realization of the story they are really telling.

* Population Characteristics, Alberta Census Division 12.

APPENDIX C

JOB DESCRIPTION

POSITION: Community Workers

ADMINISTRATIVE
SUPERIORS:

Director of Community Workers

Assistant Director of Community
Workers

FUNCTIONS:

1. To understand community development principles, techniques and methodology through courses, seminars, field work and reading.
2. To be an organized, efficient team that works with the people of the community.
3. To strengthen trainee-parent-NewStart relationships.
 - a. recruit trainees
 - b. visit homes
 - c. follow-up trainees
 - d. use of newsletter, student papers, news media
 - e. hold meetings, informal gatherings
 - f. community projects
4. To visit families to establish friendships.
5. To make a detailed map of the community to find potential leaders and other key people.

FUNCTIONS:

6. To recognize and understand the felt needs of the people.
7. To help staff, agencies, community people and government become more aware of human processes and to facilitate communication.
 - a. be a good listener
 - b. be a behavior-changer
 - c. assist in centres
8. To develop responsibility.
 - a. by student field trips
 - b. by community evaluation
 - c. student-staff-people evaluation
 - d. build material trust and respect
 - e. avoid student-teacher relationships.
9. To be aware of natural and human resources; to know their potential use and how to match people to the natural resources.
10. To be available as a resource person and to know resource people.
11. To be able to explain three levels of government.
12. To accompany elected people on tours of other communities.
13. To submit reports and assist the research department by knowing how to objectively evaluate a community's progress.
14. To evaluate, give feed-back and follow-up of the total Community Counselling Track Force program.

FUNCTIONS:

15. To encourage people to become aware of:
 - a. past and present cultures
 - b. cultures and subcultures
 - c. history
16. To plan projects with Centre Supervisors.

APPENDIX D

PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU
MINISTER MARCHAND
PREMIER STROM

We, the Metis and Indian people of the Lac La Biche area, are fed up of being underdeveloped, sick, on welfare, in jail, living in inadequate homes and suffering other dehumanizing effects.

During the past year, Alberta NewStart has proven to us by the present programs that this kind of training gives us more than one choice of keeping alive.

We strongly request that the demands listed below be agreed to by January 30th, 1970 and further request that we will be guaranteed that action will be started by April 1st, 1970.

1. The Lac La Biche NewStart Training Centre be re-opened and a maximum number of students be recruited to commence training as instructors, community, family and dormitory counsellors, administrative staff and supervisors, to be employed within the Lac La Biche Centre and the new mobile centres requested.

2. In our opinion, it is essential that native people be trained and employed to work with and train their own people. We request that 80% Metis and Indian staff be established and to meet this goal mature people will be given first priority when new positions are filled.
3. A 30-family NewStart mobile training centre be opened at Lac La Biche with enough trailer homes to allow people from outlying isolated areas to live in Lac La Biche for training in the mobile centre.
4. That a paid Development Board, made up of native people from the area, be established to work in conjunction with all government and non-government agencies that have responsibility for planning, developing and managing programs which effect the native people in the area.
5. That the Fort McKay people receive the NewStart Mobile Training Centre that they petitioned for last summer.
6. We don't want to have this program called a research program. We have been researched enough. We believe, however, that program progress must be evaluated from time to time to remain effective.

7. In addition, to the above concerns we demand that considerations be given to making money available for housing, land development, roads and bridges, medical services and industrial development in the area. There is a lot of undeveloped land available and there is a lot of need for a local fish processing plant. At present all fish from this area are processed outside the area. There are more than enough people in the area who have the potential to train to work in any new development.
8. The Alberta NewStart dormitory and kitchen are now fully occupied by our organization and we will continue to occupy those buildings until our demands are met. If our request is not dealt with by January 30th, 1970, we will take further action.

Prime Minister Trudeau has promised us a just society and we still have faith that he will help us to become a contributing part of Canada. We know that this will cost much money, but not as much as keeping us on welfare without the ability to make a different chance.

Signed by the people of Lac La Biche, Alberta.

APPENDIX E

TELEGRAM SENT TO PRIME MINISTER TRUDEAU January 19, 1970.

THE METIS ASSOCIATION IS IN FULL SUPPORT OF THE BRIEF THAT HAS BEEN SUBMITTED TO YOU BY PAUL YEWCHUK, M.P. FOR THE ATHABASCA CONSTITUENCY CONCERNING THE LAC LA BICHE PEOPLE AND ITS DEMANDS. THE METIS ASSOCIATION HAS ALWAYS MAINTAINED THE IDEA OF A FREE AND DEMOCRATIC CANADA AND A JUST SOCIETY - A SOCIETY WHERE EVERY MAN OR WOMAN HAS MORE THAN A CHOICE OF KEEPING ALIVE - CERTAINLY IT IS AN ALMOST EMBARRASSING SITUATION TO BE IN A RICH AND FRUITFUL LAND SUCH AS OURS IN THIS MODERN DAY AND AGE, THAT SUCH A THING SHOULD EXIST, SUCH AS LIVING IN INADEQUATE HOMES, UNDERDEVELOPED, SICK, ON WELFARE, IN JAIL AND SUFFERING OTHER DEHUMANIZING EFFECTS. WE, THE METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA HAVE A LOT OF HOPE IN YOUR IDEA OF A JUST SOCIETY, A SOCIETY THAT LOUIS RIEL HAD FOUGHT AND DIED FOR IN 1885.

STAN DANIELS, PRESIDENT
METIS ASSOCIATION OF ALBERTA

APPENDIX F

ALBERTA PE-TA-PUN DEVELOPMENT INC. BOARD

Lac La	Beaver	Kikino	Caslan	Mission	Owl	Imperial
Biche	Lake				River	Mills

There is one member on the board from each area. They are chosen from the boards below.

Health and Welfare Committee

Chairman

Housing Committee

Chairman

Employment Committee

Chairman

Recreation Committee

Chairman

Education Committee

Chairman

Land-Road Committee

Chairman

Fish-Wildlife-Forestry
Committee

Chairman

Industrial Development
Committee (fishplant pre-
fab plant lumber)

Chairman

Interim Board: (this will dissolve as of June 1, 1970,
salary \$350.00 per month)

Chairman:	William Erasmus	Lawrence Spence
	Martha Gladue	Veronica Morin
	Raymond Harpe	Delphine Erasmus

One person serves as metis Co-ordinator between the board
of Pe-Ta-Pun and the provincial government. He is paid by
the government.

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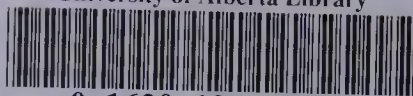
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